

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

Volume 31, No. 3



July, 1957



Published Quarterly

by

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Agricultural History Society

in cooperation with

The University of Illinois Press

ANNOUNCES

the establishment of

AN ANNUAL AWARD

for the best book manuscript

dealing with a subject in agricultural history

* * *

Winning manuscripts will be published by the

University of Illinois Press, beginning in 1958

* * *

Watch for details about the award, manuscript requirements, royalties,

and deadlines in the October issue of *Agricultural History*.

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

A Publication of the Agricultural
History Society Edited at the
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

D. A. Brown, *Editor*

C. Clyde Jones, *Associate Editor*

Vol. XXXI, No. 3, July, 1957

CONTENTS

Letters from a Sugar Plantation in Antigua, 1739-1758	<i>Richard B. Sheridan</i>	3
Colonial Agriculture in New Spain	<i>Richard J. Morrissey</i>	24
David Dickson's "System of Farming"	<i>Chester M. Destler</i>	30
Thomas Affleck: Missionary to the Planter, the Farmer, and the Gardener	<i>Robert W. Williams</i>	40
Black's Bend Grange, 1873-77: A Case Study	<i>Robert Partin</i>	49
Hiram Smith (1817-1890)	<i>W. H. Clover</i>	60
The Smithsonian's Old Farm House		62
Book Reviews		64
Notes and Comment		72

(Cover design is by Alberto Beltrán, from *Life in a Mexican Village*, by Oscar Lewis, and is used by permission of the University of Illinois Press.)

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Editorial Office
Room 226, Mumford Hall
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
Urbana, Illinois

Officers and Executive Committee

President: Walter H. Ebling, Federal-State Crop Reporting Service, and University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin

Vice-President: J. I. Falconer, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

Secretary-Treasurer: Wayne D. Rasmussen, United States Department of Agriculture

George L. Anderson, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas

Lewis E. Atherton, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri

Charles A. Burmeister, 4650 Broad Branch Road, N.W., Washington 8, D.C.

H. C. M. Case, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

Mildred Throne, State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

Edward N. Wentworth, Route 1, Box 34, Chesterton, Indiana

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY

The Quarterly Journal of the Agricultural History Society

Agricultural History is designed as a medium for the publication of research and documents pertaining to the history of agriculture in all its phases and as a clearing-house for information of interest and value to workers in the field. Materials on the history of agriculture in all countries are included, and also materials on institutions, organizations, and sciences which have been factors in agricultural development. The Society is not responsible for the statements or opinions of contributors. Editorial communications should be addressed to D. A. Brown, Editor, Agricultural Library, 226 Mumford Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois. Books for review should be sent to C. Clyde Jones, Associate Editor, Room 112, David Kinley Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

All members of the Agricultural History Society receive *Agricultural History*. The memberships are: Student, \$2.00; annual \$5.00; contributing, \$10.00; life, \$133.00, inclusive of all previous payments of dues and contributions, or a sum in U. S. dollars equivalent to 133 less the age of the applicant at his or her last birthday, exclusive of prior dues and contributions; joint membership with the Economic History Association, \$11.00; and joint membership with the Economic History Association and the Economic History Society (England), \$14.00. Single current numbers, \$1.50. Reprints, if available, 25 cents each. An annual subscription to *Agricultural History* is \$5.00 net. Communications regarding memberships, subscriptions, and other business matters should be addressed to Wayne D. Rasmussen, Secretary-Treasurer, Room 3905, S. Agr. Bldg., U. S. Agricultural Marketing Service, Washington 25, D. C.

Advisory Editorial Board

Lewis E. Atherton, University of Missouri
Vernon Carstensen, University of Wisconsin
Robert G. Dunbar, Montana State College
Gilbert C. Fite, University of Oklahoma
Paul W. Gates, Cornell University
F. Hal Higgins, Walnut Creek, California

Robert West Howard, American Meat Institute
Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University
Rodney C. Loefer, University of Minnesota
Theodore Saloutos, U. C. L. A.
Fred A. Shannon, University of Illinois
Walter P. Webb, University of Texas

Agricultural History is published for the Agricultural History Society at the Garrard Press, 119-123 West Park Avenue, Champaign, Illinois.

Entered as second-class matter in the Post Office at Champaign, Illinois.

Letters from a Sugar Plantation in Antigua, 1739-1758

RICHARD B. SHERIDAN

The letters written by Dr. Walter Tullideph, sugar planter of Antigua, to Sir George Thomas, Baronet, absentee planter of that Island, give considerable insight into the problems of plantation management and the functions performed by attorneys and overseers.¹ The recipient of these letters was a third generation sugar planter whose grandfather, Major William Thomas of Bristol, was a planter in Antigua as early as 1665. His father, Colonel George Thomas, married Sarah, only daughter and heiress of Joseph Winthrop, the Quaker Deputy Governor of Antigua. Sir George, the eldest son, was born and raised in Antigua. In 1718 he inherited the estates of his uncle William Thomas, who was a wealthy sugar planter. Sir George's plantations are referred to in the correspondence as North Sound, Winthropes, Popeshead, and Five Islands.

After serving as a member of the Assembly and Council of Antigua for a number of years, Thomas was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Pennsylvania in 1738, and served in that capacity until 1747. In 1753 he was appointed Governor of the Leeward Islands, an office which he held with distinction for thirteen years. Upon his retirement to England in 1766 he was created a Baronet. He died in 1774 at the age of seventy-nine.²

Dr. Walter Tullideph was born in Scotland and educated at the High School in Edinburgh. After serving an apprenticeship to a surgeon in that City, he went to Antigua (circa 1726) to practice medicine and act as factor for his brother who was a merchant in England. In 1736, the Doctor married a young widow, Mary Burroughs, and came into possession of her plantation. From that time until his retirement to Scotland in 1757, he was one of the Island's most able and prosperous planters.³ Between 1736 and 1754, he increased the size of his plantation from 127

to 571 acres and from 63 to 247 Negro slaves.

In addition to managing his own estates, Tullideph acted as an attorney for several absentee planters. In this capacity he visited the plantations periodically, where he checked on the overseers by observing the condition of the canes, the treatment and health of the slaves, the quality and quantity of sugar produced, and the growing of provisions to feed the slaves. He also saw that the bookkeepers maintained proper plantation accounts, and supervised the town agents who purchased part of the supplies for the plantations. Attorneys devoted considerable attention to mercantile, shipping, and financial matters. Tullideph purchased Negro slaves for the estates of absentees, he negotiated with ship captains for the shipment of his principals' sugar and rum, and he dispatched invoices and bills of lading and corresponded with the London merchants to whom the sugar and rum was consigned and from whom

¹ Unpublished Letter Books of Dr. Walter Tullideph, of Antigua and Dundee, Scotland, 3 vols., 1734-1767. I am indebted to Sir Herbert Ogilvy of Baldoan Estate, Dundee, Scotland, for permission to publish this correspondence.

² Vere L. Oliver, *Caribbeana, Being Miscellaneous Papers Relating to the History, Genealogy, Topography, and Antiquities of the British West Indies*, (London, 1912), 2:337; Oliver, *The History of the Island of Antigua*, (3 vols., London, 1894-99), 3:129-133.

³ Miss Janet Schaw, a Scots lady of quality who visited Antigua in 1774, wrote in her journal of a "charming ride thro' many rich and noble plantations, several of which belonged to Scotch proprietors, particularly that of the Dilladaffs (Lady Ogilvy and Mrs Leslie)." "Dilladaff" is probably phonetic for Tullideph. Dr. Tullideph had two daughters, Charlotte, who married Sir John Ogilvy, and Mary, who married Hon. Col. Alexander Leslie. Evangeline W. Andrews and Charles M. Andrews, *Journal of A Lady of Quality*, (New Haven, 1923), 100.

plantation supplies were ordered. Detailed accounts of plantation affairs, notices of shipment of sugar and rum, and a yearly statement of account were sent to absentee

planters in England or North America, in addition to more general observations of crop prospects, prices, and political, military and social affairs in the Island.

Antigua, Augt. 3d 1739

The Honourable George Thomas Esqr.
Govr. of Philadelphia Pensilvania

Sir:

I had the pleasure to receive your's of May 26th last & I am very glad Mr. Roseamans⁴ state of health is such now as he has no occasion to leave the Island. As I goe to Five Islands Every week to visit Dr. Sydsferfe's⁵ plantation shall alwayes call at yours to enquire into the State of your affairs there and be alwayes ready to give Mr. Roseaman what assistance I am capable of for your Interest. I shall alwayes be glad of the opportunity to do you all the services in my power during your absence or that of Dr. Sydsferfes. Mr. Roseaman showed me 14 negroes of his the other day which have wrought on your Estate for some time, about half the number are men & women the rest men boys & girles, he is willing to rent them for £36 pr. Ann. you to bear ye charge of feeding, physick & taxes. As the blast⁶ so often visits us believe you will have occasion for them and really I think they must be well worth that money. Within these 14 days we have had two deep seasons all over the Country & small showers almost every day besides, which has putt a new face on the Island & hope will give the Canes strength to throw off the blast. . . . Your negroes are healthy and in good order, your Coppars new hung with fire stone in Clay we. Major King⁷ thought better than mortar. Your most obliged and most obedt. Servant.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, Aprile 22d 1740

To the Honourable George Thomas Esqr.
att Philadelphia

Sir:

I had the honour to receive your's of Novr. 10th last which should have answered 'ere now but opportunity's since that have been few. Mr. Roseaman I believe will feed his own negroes as those of the plantation. If he gives more perhaps it may not be easy to discover it. There is no expectation of your makeing good any losses in case of Mortality. Dr. Sydsferfe's Canes next to you were so much blasted that I cutt them down both for his own sake as well as your's. You have both had a large share of it in your

⁴ Overseer at Five Islands plantation.

⁵ Dr. Walter Sydsferfe was the owner of two plantations in Antigua which contained a total of 570 acres. Margaret, the only child and heir of Dr. Sydsferfe, married Sir William Thomas, the eldest son and heir of Sir George Thomas. Dr. Sydsferfe was a first cousin of Dr. Tullideph. The cousins corresponded frequently, and Tullideph acted as Sydsferfe's plantation attorney during long periods of absenteeism. Oliver, *History of the Island of Antigua*, 3:128.

⁶ Edwards defines the blast as "the aphid of Linnaeus." Bryan Edwards, *The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, (2 vols., London, 1794), 2:214.

⁷ Probably John King, father-in-law of Sir George Thomas.

present young Canes but we have had such seasonable weather that I hope with Care to get the better of it.

I dare say when Dr. Sydsershe shipt your Sugars on [Captain] Hubbart['s] [vessel] he little thought of their being any occasion to reship them and am glad they at last got home safe to a good mereat. As I have not yet the honour to Act as your Attorney shall not take the freedom of Shipping but leave that to Collo. King. I am Sir Your most humble Servant.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, March 20th 1740/1

Govr. Thomas at Philadelphia

Wrote him in answer to his of Decr. 2d last, abot. ye ten negroes putt on by Mr. King wt. [with] his two Accotts., two of them dead, abot. renting his house, ye state of the plant[ation] & workes.

Wr. Tullideph

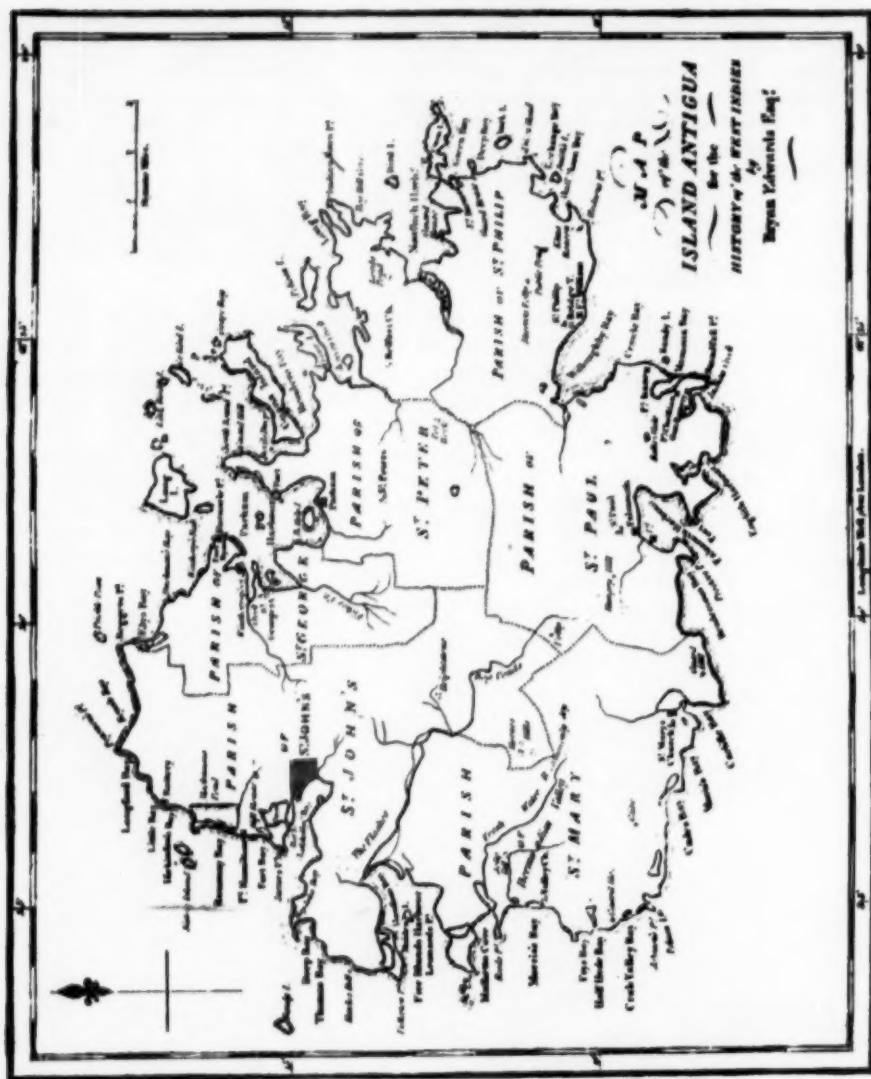
Antigua, Febry. 5th 1741/2

Govr. Thomas

Wrote by a Vessell fm. Bonnin [Africa] in answer to his pr. Mr. Hillhouse very particularly, ye settlemt. at Popeshead, 20 Acres proposed to be planted [in canes], the House wt. ten Acres to fetch £50 if possible, ye 60 Acres offered 56/ for it, 20 Cows



From Noel Deerr's *History of Sugar*, Courtesy Chapman & Hall, London.
Sugar Cane Holeing, Antigua



From Bryan Edwards' *History of the West Indies*, London, 1807.

for breed, to sell off ye Old & bay young heiifers, kill ye Cow Calves, ye bay behind the Pond might raise 200 bush[els] Guinea Corn or potatoes, Mr. Gunthorpes^a Marriage, my having Guinea consignments wt. Martin,^b to recommend us when opportunity offers for Madeira Wine or provisions when vendable. I am &c.

Wr. Tullideph

^a Probably William Gunthorpe who owned two sugar plantations in Antigua called "Gunthorpes" and "Paynters."

^b Thomas Martin was a partner of Samuel Turner in a London sugar commission firm. Tullideph and Martin were part owners of a vessel engaged in the slave trade.

Antigua, Aprile 10th 1742

Govr. Thomas

Abot. drie weather, what we planted at Winthorpes dead, we can make no Sugar there next year but what we plant now to use as a nursery, to send flower bread & corn as we expect hard times, our makeing 24 hhds. at 5 Islands & expect 8 or 10 more & hope to ship at least 25 home.

Wr. T.

Antigua, Augt. 18th 1742

Govr. Thomas

Wrote pr. [Captain] Clymer yt. [that] every thing went on well at Winthorpes, yt. we hired ye holling¹⁰ of 24 Acres & had now 34 Acres planted whereof 10 Acres might be cutt next May, ye rest to be for plants, our planting potatoes & propose 30 Acres Guinea Corn there. Bannister's renting ye 60 Acres Dr. Sydserfe's side at 56/ per Acre, a good prospect at N. Sd. for next Crop, my shipping 20 hhds. [hogsheads of approximately 1,500 hundredweight] Sugar to Mr. Dunbar¹¹ & 8 to Mr. Douglas,¹² my getting ye Accotts. finished soon, sent a list of the negroes & cattle, my purchaseing a Scotch Servt. to stay at 5 Islds. & acknowledgeing ye rec[eip]t of his pr. [Captain] Maes.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, Aprile 30th 1743

Govr. Thomas

Wrote pr. [Captain] Sewer yt. I would send his Accotts. by [Captain] Arthur, that I had sent Sugars to Messrs. Allen & Turner¹³ we. I hoped would give content, that I had consulted Mr. Sherwood abot. ye Commissions who advised to charge 7½ but if they were dissatisfied, I would rectifie any thing if reasonable,¹⁴ abot. Ash's¹⁵ & some other's Sugars not to be got but believe theirs are chiefly for the Grocer & these sent may answeare better in refining, my not being much concerned except in Guinea business, something abot. our fleet going to Porto Cavalley.

Wr. T.

Antigua, Augt. 13th 1743

Govr. Thomas

Wrote pr. Capt. Maes of our makeing 10 hhds. Sugr. at Winthorpes & hoping to make 8 or 10 more, we. I hope will pay for all ye buildings besides 14 hhds. good Sugr. fm. 5 Islds., a prospect for 56 or 60 there next if any tolerable weather. Bills scarce & high, my putting ye house at 5 Islds. in order & will trie to get a Tennant.

Wr. T.

¹⁰ At planting time the slaves dug holes at intervals for the reception of the canes.

¹¹ William Dunbar, London sugar factor and former resident of Antigua. He was an uncle of Dr. Tullideph and a brother-in-law of Sir George Thomas.

¹² James Douglas, London sugar factor.

¹³ Merchants in Philadelphia for whom Tullideph acted as agent in the sale of provisions, lumber, and prize vessels and their cargoes. Tullideph also consigned sugar and rum to this firm.

¹⁴ Tullideph's commission on a cargo of flour from Messrs. Allen & Turner.

¹⁵ Richard Ash, a planter who had a reputation for making quality sugars which sold at premium prices.

Antigua, Janry. 14th 1743/4

Govr. Thomas

... I hope ye rum will answeare ye expences & ship all ye Sugar to London, ye state of his estates, like to make 60 hhds. at Winthorpes & near 200 at North Sd. The Guinea Corn failed therefore to send Provisions.

Wr. T.

Antigua, March 3d 1743/4

Govr. Thomas at Philadelphia

I had the pleasure to receive yrs. of Janry. 20th & am extreemly oblinded to you for your good Will to serve by recommending me to ye most eminent men in yr. Governmt., but it gives me great concern that the present Consignment will be but little advantage to ye Owners & less credit to me.¹⁶ There hath been such large Crops in Europe & South Carolina, that hardly a Vessell arrives without bringing in provisions of one kind or anoyr., we. hath brot. flower down to 12/ & likely to be less, besides Mr. Laschells¹⁷ in London sends out large quantitys of bread in our London ships, for ye men of Warr on this Station. We reed. the 20 trs. [tierces] Corn we. is now at 2/6d. pr. bush. here & Beans is likely to be gott at an easy price which I shall choose as you have sent us ye Corn. I had a little before bot. 60 bush. Corn at 3/ for Winthorpe's, for ye little Guinea Corn we reaped had but little grain upon it which I thought adviseable to feed the Mill horses with to enable them to take off ye Crop. Wee have made 17 or 18 hhds. of tolerable good Sugar at Winthorpe's, for we. we shall make 10 of Rum, 8 of we. I have already Sold at 2/9d. [per gallon]. The Newness of ye Soil is likely to deceive us, but hope not to fall much Short of 50 hhds. We have at present a sever pinch of drie weather, a Season now would secure our Crop. I am Sir Your most humble Servant.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, Aprile 10th 1744

Govr. Thomas

I wrote you pretty fully ye 3d of March in answeare to yours of Janry. 20th pr. [Captain] Budden, since which I have not had the pleasure to hear from you. We have severe drie weather which hath already shortned our Crops 1/2d and that for next year almost lost. We have made 27 hhds. Sugar at Winthorpe's with Rum in Proportion. I have been pretty much hurried for some time past that I have not been able as yet to get last year's Accotts. drawn out. My Nephew's¹⁸ being taken by the Spaniards hath been a great loss to me, nor have I yet heard any thing about him. I am Sr. yrs. &c.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, Sept. 15th 1744

Govr. Thomas

... Our Crop at Winthorpe's this year was 51 hhds. Sugar whereof I shipt 40 the last being very Ordinary, & understanding insurence had rose to 25 pr. Ct. with 6/

¹⁶ Messrs. Allen & Turner of Philadelphia consigned a cargo of 307 barrels of flour to Tullideph which proved to be a losing venture.

¹⁷ Henry Lascelles, senior partner in the London sugar commission firm of Messrs. Lascelles & Maxwell. Lascelles had the contract for supplying the forces on the Leeward Islands station. See Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763*, (New York, 1936), 492.

¹⁸ John Trotter, merchant at London, 1744; at Antigua, 1745; at Glasgow, 1752; at Jamaica, 1754; and at Philadelphia, 1757.



From Noel Deerr's *History of Sugar*, Courtesy Chapman & Hall, London.
Gamble's Sugar Mill, Antigua

ffreight I thought it for your Interest to part with them at 25/pr. Ct. to purchase lime rather than ship ym [them]. Several of our hhds. have been small these two years, being either Corn or Lime Cask new trimmed up again, we hath saved ye Cooperidge, hoops & staves being @ 2/9d., ye rest at 2/. I have bot. 44 hhds. Lime at 36/. Mr. Thomas¹⁹ hath employed a Town agent to buy for N. Sd. and One Addis who acts under him in ye Custom house at Parham keeps the Plantation books. They have made a handsome Crop at North Sd. and have had seasonable weather for our Young Canes till now we begin to be drie, we. is unusual in this month & therefore I don't like it well, however have been lucky in escapeing Storms hitherto. I find it is difficult, now a French Warr hath hapned, to get an hospital boy out. I wrote to Mr. Dunbar 8 or 10 months agoen without being able to gett one yet. In shipping your Sugars I consulted with Dr. Sydserfe, but am afraid ye high insurance will hurt us much, 20 of these went under Convoy with ye Scarborough all ye way home, ten before ye French Warr, & ten with Convoy thro' these latitudes, so that I hope ye Insurance may be somewhat the less.

Capt. Nairne came here at a lucky time to get 7/ freight without much interest or pains. I am extreemly oblided to you for your good offices with the owners of the Privateers.²⁰ I should be glad if they had any success to Windward to make amends for ye

¹⁹ William Thomas, brother of Sir George Thomas and attorney at North Sound plantation until his death in 1749, when Dr. Tullideph took over the management of that estate.

²⁰ Joseph Turner, of the firm of Messrs. Allen & Turner of Philadelphia, owned several privateers for which Tullideph acted as agent in the sale and remittance of prize cargoes to England. Remittances were sent to David Barclay, an eminent Quaker merchant at London.

unlucky flower Cargoe we. will prove so to the owners as well as to myself. We thank you for ye hams pr. Nairne. They proved good.

I have planted Yams, Potatoes & Guinea Corn at Winthorpes and will trie to save as much as possible in ye Article of Provisions provided we have weather. We have a forward Crop there and a pretty good prospect. We will trie to gett the Windmill ready by New Year's day. I have made enquiry after the French Wines you write for.

Inclosed is a list of the Prizes brot. in here. We have only two Privateers belonging to this Island who have destroyed two french Privateers & therefore have done Signal Service to trade.

Inclosed you have the Plantation Accotts. for last year. I have sold off as many of ye Old Cows as could be well spared & always dispose of ye Cow Calves of ye small breed, if any thing fatt, and yet we are now again overstocked. . . .

Antigua, Novr. 18th 1744

Govr. Thomas at Philadelphia

. . . Abot. Carlises Assigmt. haveing no wittness, but that he told Mr. Salmon & Mr. Frye abot. it if Salmon should be sworn. Abot. Nairne's loseing ye Convoy of ye Eltham by springing a Leake. Good weather, good Crop of Corn at Winthorpes & hope to have ye Windmill abot. by ye beginning of Febry. Abot. selling ye Cattle mill for £100 but to find some timbers. Freight to London 8/. Yrs. &c.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, May 15, 1745

To Govr. George Thomas @ Philadelphia

. . . As to what relates N. Sd. Estate I wish you would write a Joint Letter to all your Attorneys, because I don't care to give Mr. Thomas the least umbrage as he takes the whole care & truely it is so much out of my way that I can but seldom go there therefore as to Mr. Addis or ye Accots. of that Estate [North Sound] please to write to us both. In Building the works [at Winthorpe plantation] we could hardly avoid mixing ye Accots. of the two Estates together, but when that is over, we will avoid it. The Last Ps. Rattoons²¹ being cutt so late I found they would not answer & therefore put part of it into yams, whereby we have one Ps. Rattoons Less for this Crop, but it is now opened & most planted for next, & all the land next ye free tennant was put in Guinea Corn. Part of this may still be put in canes I think, then betwixt the house & works in Potatoes, the Bays when cleared will be pasturage enough with a little hand feeding. Mr. Allen,²² although a Barbadian, is not severe. If he proves otherwise, he shall be removed. Good overseers are scarce. He hath been usefull in blowing up Rocks for ye Mill. We have been at great expence and trouble in getting good stone, there hath been abot. 70 wt. of poulder used, expence of Drills &c. The land being covered with canes might be one reason for their Searcity.

Capt. Wall is gone to St. Kitts to Load there at 8/. Captn. Searjent, although under Convoy, was taken. Your ten Hhds. insured on him will answer for ye Charge of Insuring the rest. Mr. Hodge²³ goes for England in a few days. I would not consent to the terms he proposes as I thought your interest would suffer. I propose one Mr. Robert Marten [or Martin] to Succeed him, one in whom I can confide & who will do you Justice. I have mett with many delays in building the mill, especially abot. lime & Stone.

²¹ Rattoons were second-crop canes which generally yielded less sugar than newly planted canes.

²² Overseer at Winthorpe plantation.

²³ Overseer at North Sound plantation.

A Sloop that went to Barbuda for 30 Hhds. was thrown ashore there, but I hope to have her finished next week now, & a very handsome Mill [it is]. Collo. Marten²⁴ hath laid aside business, please therefore to inform us how you would have your Sugars consigned for the future. . . .

Antigua, May 15, 1745

For Govr. Thomas

. . . I hope to make above 60 hhds. [at Winthorpe plantation] and could have finished the crop by the 30 June had not the public Workes required so much negroe Labour, but I fear it may be the middle of July now. Windmill timber is monstrous high and therefore must run as Little risque as possible in the hurricane months. There is now abot. 25 hhds. Sugar made and much better than Last years and shall be duly tempered being convinced your observation with regard to that Article is Just.

As we expect a Strong Convoy all the way home in June I will trie to Ship 40 hhds. from Winthorpes by them witch [*sic* which] I beleive may not be insured, but what goes afterwards shall insure unless you write me to the Contrary. The french are now so much Superiour to us by Sea that our men of Warr have ever since been Laid up in English Harbour, by which means our tradeing Vessells have been taken in sight of the Island. I am Glad your prizes gott safe and wish your share had been Larger in them.

Antigua, Augt. 8th 1745

The Honourable Geo. Thomas,
Govr. of Pennsylvania

. . . Robert Martin your Manager [at North Sound] is a Creole whose family laboured under a law suit with Horn Forrest so many years that although he gott his cause was forced to sell his Estate to his broyr. but saved all his negroes, is a Single man and very sober & industrious, he hath kept an exact Journall of the Plantation worke we. he will transmitt you soon. He is not very ready at his pen, nor capable of keeping a Sett of books, but keeps a Journall of ye produce. He is carefull & humane to your people & with a few more men would effectually work that estate. . . .

The Crop at North Sd. was 129 hhds., there is a fair prospect there for Next year. Ye rattoons don't answeare now for want of dunging, there is abot. 80 Acres of plants some of which was dunged. We finished at Winthorps abot. ye middle of July, made 63 hhds. Sugar & 39 Do. Rum & a Cask for ye use of ye Estate we. was no bad Crop all Circumstances considered. Ye Rattoons yielded better than ye plants, therefore hope for a good Crop next year. We have had fine weather these severall months past and ten days agone the greatest season I ever knew. If no hurricane happens we have the prospect of an universall large crop. I shipt 36 hhds. by ye fleet being shutt out of four by saucy Captains ye ffright 8/ & brot. alongside, they are not insured. I shall ship 20 more fm. thence & write for insurance. There was 90 went from N. Sd. I think in ye fleet under Convoy of a 40 & 20 Gun ship.

Abot. ten days before we finished at Winthorpes, one of ye Mares came under ye Vanes when the Mill was abot. by which she was killed & One of ye Points lost 7 foot, but with a weight to lead to it, ye Mill finished ye Crop. There is abot. 3 Acres Yams planted & we shall plant ye Bay in Guinea Corn we. will clear it & form good pasturage. I hope to add more Cane land and will next year get it Surveyed. I thot. to have sent

²⁴ Colonel Samuel Martin, London sugar factor.

your Accotts. now, but ye Vessell sailed sooner than I expected. Dapwell²⁵ gives a bill for ye rent now and promises to pay for ye house rent in Rum. I am Sir Yours &c.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, Octr. 5th 1745

Govr. Thomas

Inclosed you have your plantation Accotts. for the year 1744, ballance in your ffavour £108:2:6½ which is more than I expected or intended,²⁶ but some of the last Sugars being very Ordinary, thought it more for your Interest to sell here @ 25/ than pay high ffreight & insurence on them. However, I believe the above ballance with this years rum will nearly discharge all ye Expence of the buildings &c. and I hope if Rum keeps up at 2/ next year to be able to remitt you some bills on that Score besides paying the Plantation Expences; for I have cleared away and planted ten or 12 Acres of Good Guinea Corn along the Bay at Winthorpes leaving a sufft. defence agt. the North Wind & have planted Potatoes besides the Yam piece, therefore hope to be at little expence for Provisions this ensueing year. If this good weather continues till after Xmas. you have a fair prospect at both Estates. North Sound had five Young Cattle from five Island last year & I have now 12 Young Cattle fitt for Sale in Six Months, at least as many as I can after supplying the two Estates, so that by a due care of the Stock at 5 Islds. some Sterlg. money may be raised out of ye Sale of Working Cattle yearly. I have now a good Breed of Young Cows, having disposed of all ye Old Ones & runt-ing Calves, & think we may raise at least 12 head yearly which at £20 Each is £240, besides small Cow Calves, old Cows &c., for Cattle is now raised near 50 pr. Ct. above what they were some years ago. An Accott. of ye Cattle is inclosed.²⁷

I have 20 hhds. of your Sugar still to Ship, ten of which I have gott ffreight for @ 8/ and have an opportunity to write for Insurence. The Vessell before gott 10/, but I make no doubt of getting the other ten at 8/ in a few days. I was much puzled abot. writeing for insurence on them as the Premium was risen to 30 Guineas, but by a letter of the first of Augt. I find it is fallen to 25 with a return of ten in case of a Convo-y. Now we have some expectation of One this month. I am yrs. &c.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, Octr. 18th 1745

Govr. Geo. Thomas

... These 2 days past we have had great rains again, the Guinea Corn at Winthorpe's is very promising. I have added 7 or 8 Acres Cane land more than was first proposed which I think will bear good Canes. I will get a draught of all Cane land done to transmitt you next year. . . .

²⁵ Renter of Five Island plantation.

²⁶ The plantation accounts include only local expenses and receipts. The chief source of revenue which took the form of sugar consigned to London factors does not appear on the plantation accounts.

²⁷ Cattle and horses were needed on plantations to provide fertilizer and meat, and to haul canes to the mill and hogsheads of sugar and rum to the wharf. There was so much pressure to plant land in canes that pastures were often inadequate to support the livestock. The need for cattle and horses was reduced to some extent by replacing cattle mills with windmills and by importing lime and other fertilizers.

Antigua, Novr. 16th 1745

Govr. Thomas at Philadelphia

I observe what you write abot. ye purchase of Slaves, but they are likely to be scarce & very high & think they may be payd. for in Bills raised from rum. The Negroes fm. Winthorpes are going to hole at N. Sd. for abot. 3 weeks & we can spare them that much yearly & work that Estate sufficiently alsoe. We have certain advice that most of Our fleet arrived safe at Corke abot. ye middle of Septr. & were waiting there for a stronger Convoy, so that I hope your Sugars are safe and go to a great Mercatt. I have recommended early planting & dunging to Mr. Martin, who I know will prosecute ye same as farr as his strength can. I have still reserved Six head of Young Cattle for the use of North Sd. & have directed Six Old Cattle there to be putt up to be fattned. We still enjoy good weather, & believe N. Sd. may make 200 hhds. this crop. . . . Admirall Townsend took fifteen Sail, sunk five, burnt eight & eight run ashore. Several of these merchant men are stout Vessells & most of ym. English build. We expect some of them in here, some to St. Kitts & ye rest to Barbadoes. They will help to carry home our Sugars, & prevent our Enemy from carrying home their Sugars. . . .

Antigua, Febry. 18th 1745/6

Govr. Thomas

. . . Your Estates are in Pritty good Order with a Pretty good prospect. Pleased to tell Mr. Turner and Mr. Allen my proceedings relateing to the Little Packett Boat Prize and to advise me in what manner you would have the remittances made, whether in Bills on London or otherwise. I imagine Sugar will be abot. 25/ P. Ct. & rum 2/ through the Crop. Our Latest advices from Britain gives the Strongest hopes that the Rebels are intirely defeated long ere now. The troubles att home will probably prevent my visiting that part of the World this Year. Mr. Turner mentions nothing of Captn. Dugall for whom I advanced about this time Last year £219 or thereabouts, a Copy of whose Accott. I sent by Captn. Greenway Last Year. I am Sir Yours &c.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, March 24th 1745/6

Govr. Thomas

I have little to add to my former letters. The Crops in general is likely to be very good, ships will be much wanted, ffreight is likely to be 10/ unless more Vessells arrive than we know of. Your N. Sd. Estate is likely to make 200 hhds. & Winthorpes abot. 70, at ye latter Estate many of ye negroes have had ye small pox but no mortality except ye man with contracted limbs.

If [Captain] Coatam will stay to go under the Admiralls Convoy, I will send you the Plantation Accotts. for 1745, where you will observe the charges of the buildings to be discharged & 54 hhds. Sugar shipt home, without the help of the Cattle mill for which I have a bond & expect payment this Crop. The troubles in Great Britain seems to encrease, which will prevent me going there this year. I observe & find it necessary to make a draught of Old Cows, young heiffers, & young Cattle fm. 5 Islds. every year before Christmas; because although I sold off so many lately, yet the pasture is hardly sufficient to support what is left, & therefore would recommend that as a standing rule for that Estate to prevent Mortalities too frequent with unthinking planters. We bought two young lads, Gold Coast, we. was all we could get of a proper age. They cost £82:10/ this money we. will be paid out of the Rum from N. Sd. I am Your most humble Servt.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, May 22d 1746

The Honourable George Thomas Esqr.
Govr. of Pennsylvania

I embrace this opportunity of the Convoy to transmitt your Accotts. for the year 1745, ballance favry. me £29:12:3½. I hope you will find right. The last 18 hhds. Sugar were shipt on board Capt. Rowe & were taken with ten of my own. I wrote by every opportunity for insurence we. were all taken excepting one Neagle who arrived in Ireland and detained our letters a month there by which means both you and I lost ye opportunity of Insurence, for Mr. Dunbar wrote me they had an Accott. of Rowes being taken before my letter came to hand. . . .

Notwithstanding my care in selling off so much Stock from Five Islands before last Xmas. yet the Pasture is so bare & overrun with Acacias that we have lost several of ye Calves lately. Were it peaceable times & slaves easily to be gott I would engage with a Windmill at 5 Islds. to make 40 or 45 hhds. Sugr. yearly and keep full as many stock upon it then as now, for in Crop time the Cane tops are a great benefitt. Our North American trade is intirely cutt off by ye great numbers of Privateers & ye King's ships being very inactive, which hath raised all kind of Lumber & provisions very high & depressed our Rum to 18d. we. otherwise would have kept up all ye Crop at 2/. I am &c.

W^r. Tullideph

Antigua, August 27th 1746

The Honourable Geo. Thomas Esqr.

I had the pleasure to receive your's of May ye 6th and June ye 23d last. Dr. Richardson hath abot. 90 Acres land and taken off his Crop with his new Windmill. He talks of going home if he can rent his Estate for £500 Stg. He hath been bid £475 and will get what he asks I believe. The Estate you Sold to Powell with an addition of 20 or 30 Acres of Billie Richardson's is now rented out to Powell's Exceers. for £550 Sterlg., & ye 20 Acres you mention to ye Eastward of ye Country pond, was part of Saml. Byam's Estate then under Lease to McGill & it was only that lease which Capt. Lightfoot purchased. Thus you see how times have altered not withstanding the Warr & that there is no possibility of coming at any land adjoining to Winthorpes.

. . . I think the Sugar at Winthorpe's this year is better than last year. I ordered ye Overseer to temper it very well. We have made 62 hhds. Sugar & 37 hhds. & one trs. Rum for this crop. Two hhds. pd. into ye Custom house, 20 ship't by the first fleet & 40 by this, which goes under a Convoy of two 50 Gunn Ships. Dr. Sydsferfe hath insured all his Sugar and thought it adviseable that your's should be so too, & therefore wrote by two diff. vessells for that purpose.

. . .

Antigua, Septr. 23d 1746

The Honourable Geo. Thomas Esqr.

. . . We have advices from home of ye safe Arrival of our May fleet, & ye insurence on your 20 hhds. fm. Winthorpe's saved, of ye Death of ye King of Spain, with a probability of a Peace with Spain. . . . I must now inform you of very bad news here, no rains yet, all ye Guinea Corn burn't up & too late now to plant again, no prospect of a Crop & a probability of Provisions being very dear. Corn is now at 8/ & hardly to be gott. I have wrote to Messrs. Allen & Turner proposing to be half concerned of a Cargoe of Corn &c. in a Bermudas sloop, but as I have but little money in their hands they

may decline it. I believe it would be cheaper for you to supply your Estates from Philadelphia than in Beans from London as the freight is high from thence as well as from America. Most of ye Ponds in ye Island are drie, your negroes are reduced to drink ye Spring water at Vogan's. I wish they may not suffer by fluxes. I am

Wr. T.

Antigua, Novr. 25th 1746

Govr. Thomas

My last to you was Septr. 23d pr Capt. Outerbridge since which am not favoured with any of your's. We were then very drie & had a Melancholly prospect but thank God we have since had tolerable good rains by which we shall make a midling Crop of Guinea Corn & Yams. At Winthorpes a good Crop of both & at N. Sd. a very large Yam ps. which promises fairly but not so much Guinea Corn, so that I hope we shall not be in so great want as I dreaded when I then wrote you, yet there is few ponds in the Island filled, many with very little in them, whereby our Sugar Crop will be much shortned & become late. We have had a large Supply of Beans from London & Bristoll by Vessells who returned expecting a Second freight home & more Corn &c from America than we had reason to expect, which hath kept down the price of Provisions wonderfully and therefore if you have not already engaged a Vessell with Corn &c. I should advise the laying it aside although as little Sugar will be made here till Aprile our Slaves will require the better & longer ffeeding.

You have had a great loss in Cattle at N. Sd. since the Crop was over and all ye Estates in the neighbourhood have alsoe been great sufferers, which was owing to bad water and bare pastures. . . . It is too soon to form a Judgment of next Crop with so little rain, much depends on succeeding rains, but Mr. Martin is takeing care to manure and plant earlie a large Crop for '48, when with God's blessing and moderate weather, he hopes to shew what your Estate is capable of makeing now as well as in former times. He applies close & hopes when he makes agreable Cropes, you'll not scruple acknowledging his diligence proportionably. I am.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, March 18th 1746/7

The Honourable Geo. Thomas Esqr.

. . . I hope there will be no Occasion to buy much for either Estate, there being reaped at each at Least 40,000 Yams & at Winthorpes between 3 & 400 bushells Guinea Corn tolerable well filled and pretty deal at N. Sd., so that I hope the cheif Expence will be for Salt provisions. Yett some Beans would be necessary to be ordered from England for N. Sd. as there are many mouths to be there fedd.

I make no doubt but I shall fall in your debt on Accott. of the Corn Cargoe although insured, and therefore be pleased to Lett me know my proportion of the Loss that I may give you Credit in your Plantation Accott. . . . Sugar is now @ 30/ Pr. Cent., Rum @ 2/6 & likely to be so all the year, if not more, freight to London is Likely to be @ 5/. At most it won't exceed 6/. Some Vessells have gone from hence to Load at St. Kitts @ 6/. It being there @ 7/ before. . . .

Antigua, May 31st 1747

To the Honourable Geo. Thomas Esqr. in London

I rece'd. both yours by Houston & Dorrell of the 25th of Aprile with ten of your negroes, but not all such as you mentioned.²⁸ They have all had the Measles in their

²⁸ These were probably household slaves which were no longer needed when Thomas served out his term as Governor of Pennsylvania and went to England.

Passage, but are now well. Most part of this Month we have had heavy rains which hath putt such a Spring in the Canes that the few we have, will make but Little and Ordinary unless we have a Little fair weather next month. These Rains have forwarded next Crop very much which in all Probability will be an early Large One. Pray encourage as many Large Ships as you can to be here early and not stay for Convoy's that we may keep ffreight down as much as possible.

I fear your No. Sd. Estate won't make above 60 hhds. & Winthorpes abot. 20, 31 of which is made at the former and 14 at the Latter. Rum was at 2/6 but is now up to 2/9, so that I shall send you the Little Sugar that is made and hope the expences won't much exceed the produce of the Rum. Sugar is at 35/ P. Ct., a great Price, and freight is settled at 5/. The Convoy is Likely to be Late as Commodore Lee's Tryall Will hardly begin these four weeks, yet our Legislature insisted upon 6 weeks time to collect & prepare their Evidences and great Pains in taking to make the Tryall as usefull to the Publick as Possible.²⁹ I think it will be the Latter end of July before there is a Convoy. I shall write more fully in my next giving you an Accott. what Vessells carry your Sugar in case you should think fitt to insure. I hope you have had a safe Passage to England and that your Constitution will dayly mend. I am,

W^r. T.

Antigua, Augt. 22d 1747

The Honourable Geo. Thomas Esqr. in London

I wrote you May 31st via Statia in answer to both yours by Houston & Dorrell Acquainting you with the safe arrival of your negroes, since which the rest are all arrived safe.

Herewith I send you the Accotts. for Last year, ballance in your favour £82. 13. 6½, which I am afraid will be wanted this bad year. The Crops all over the Island hath failed much. At Winthorpes we made only 15 hhds., whereof Nine are on board the Sarah & Elizabeth, William Leslie Commr., and are consigned to Willm. Dunbar, and Six on board the Infant John, Capt. Chessell, consigned to James Douglass, & Seven hhds. & 1 trs. Rum. A small affair yet am afraid No. Sound will fail in a greater proportion for want of Rain & not for want of Canes. Our Prospect for next year is too distant to form any Notion of it. Only these Six Weeks past hath been too drie for the time of the year, which hath Sett about many Mills. Again I hope this may meet you safe in England and with a better Constitution. I am,

W^r. Tullideph

Antigua, Jany. 20th 1747/8

The Honble. George Thomas Esqr. in London

. . . The Crop at No. Sd. fell much Short of what I wrote you in May, owing to the Letting 3 ps. plants Stand over. They are now about on One of them, a 13 Acre ps. over the Gutt which makes good Sugar and abot. two hhds. P. Acre. There is 97 Acres of Plants and 20 Acres of Rattoons to be cutt upon which I reckon 220 hhds. Your brother and Mr. Martin talk of 20 or 30 more at Winthorpes. There is 30 Acres of Plants and 20 odd Acres of rattoons which will make 70 or 80 hhds. at both. I think there is a reasonable expectation of 300 hhds. We have at Present Pretty rains and particular care will be taken at both Estates to temper sufficiently and give notice for Insurance. There is room enough to cure 60 or 70 hhds. at a time and will do when Ships are to be gott.

²⁹ In another letter Commodore Lee is referred to as "our Drunken Admirall."

There is two curing houses there now, One of which I am told, hath been putt up since you were here which you may probably have forgott & is a Shade to the Eastward of the boyling house. No. Sd. will Still want what Cattle we can spare from Winthorpes and that again with young Cattle from five Islands, the draught being easier so that no dependence can be laid on the Sale of Cattle this year.

...

Antigua, March 16th 1747/8

The Honble. George Thomas Esqr. in London

... I am Sorry for your many losses last year. I have alsoe had a Share of them. What is Shipt from Winthorpe's you Shall have timely notice if insurence to be procured. I have recommended very Strongly to your Brother and Mr. Martin to do the same by what is Ship't from No. Sound. We are uncertain at Present when there will be a Convoy or what Strength. The Common Opinion is that it will be abot. 25th June.

The Standover Canes at No. Sound have yielded really well, having made 70 hhds. of Choice Strong bodied Sugar so that I hope you may expect 240 hhds. from thence, and I hope 150 of Rum which will do more than pay all Plantn. Expenses I hope, for there is no holling worke to pay for, nor no feeding for the negroe's unless it be a few bbls. of herrings or other Salt Provisions. As for Winthorpes we have made above 20 hhds. of good Sugar. The Canes have not yielded so well there as I expected, but believe we may make abot. 70 hhds. in the whole. I wish it may all get home safe and to a good Mercatt. I am,

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, April 28th 1748

The Honble. George Thomas Esqr. in London

... A Malignant Pleurific fever hath been severe and fatall in many Estates within these 3 or 4 Months. I hope it is now much abated. Your Neighbour Ned Byam hath lost 34 Slaves by it. Thank God neither you nor I have Suffered as yet, although many have been down with a Slighter degree of it. Most parts of the Island have had good Rains lately and I think you may depend on 300 hhds Sugar being Shipt you at least. I send word to Mr. Thomas of every Opportunity that Offers that he may give Advice of his Shipping the No. Sd. Sugars. I am,

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, June 25th 1748

To Geo. Thomas Esqr.

I am Sorry to Inform you that the Canes at Winthorpes have not answered our Expectations, haveing made no more than 60 hhds. They had drie weather that way and I find the late Canes at No. Sound have alsoe failed a few day's agone. Mr. Martin told me they had made 180 hhds. & beleives they would not exceed 20 or 30 more. Herewith you have the Accott. for Winthorpe's Estate for the year 1747, where the ballance in your favour is £10:4:2 $\frac{3}{4}$, carried to the Credit of next year's Accott. I am Sir Your most humble Servant.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, Augt. 20th 1748

Govr. Thomas

... We have good weather and a fair prospect for next Crop all over the Island. Both your Estate's are in good Order & the Canes forward. We have planted Yams & Guinea Corn enough at Winthorpes to feed all ye negroes & at North Sd. a large Yams ps., & alwayes a good Potatoe piece by which your expence in feeding is greatly lessened. Nor have you had any negroe hire to pay as formerlie for holling. I hope negroes will now be imported here in greater plenty, that there may be an addition of 10 or 20 Young ladds made to N. Sd. I think the Crop there this year Amots. to abot. 215 hhds. Sugr.

As I am firmly determined to bring home my two Girls next May, I beg leave to recommend Dr. Patt Grant as an Attorney to Act for you in his Absence. I have proposed it to him & he is ready and willing to do any thing in his power for your Interest, as he is now Settled at five Islands & does not practice much. . . .

Antigua, April 3d 1749

Govr. Thomas

... I beg leave to Assure you, that the Generall runn of your No. Sd. Sugar last year, as I saw them in the Cureing house, appeared to me farr Superiour to those of Winthorpes, and therefore I suspect they must have reed. some Damage from the time of Shipping to their landing. Perhaps some of them might have been under tempered which is a great error, as the heat of the hold makes the best of Sugar give. They require a good deal of good temper. Winthorpes had a good deal of Temper, which probably was the Occasion of their being better than No. Sd's. I further beg leave to intimate to you that Mr. Martin dungs your land much better than ever Mr. Bannister did, and thereby will make a greater quantity of Sugar, but perhaps not so good in quality. I went to No. Sd. about 14 days agone on Purpose to vew the Sugar's there and made mention of the Contents of your letter to Mr. Martin as farr as was necessary. And I was very well pleased with the Sugars that was then on the Plantations and think they must answer at home. I beleive the land at Mrs. Carlises is not dunged so well as in her husbands life time and therefore the Sugar is better in quality than formerlie. I think your No. Sd. Estate will make about 220 hhds. Sugar this year, and there is now Planted and above Ground 60 Acres for 1750, all of which is well hoe plowed to destroy the Grubb, and a good deal of it dunged. There was alsoe about 20 Acres more had been opened a good while ready for planting, a good part of which is now, I beleive, planted, haveing had very Seasonable weather ever since.

As you are pleas'd to leave it to my discretion to gratifie Mr. Martin for his care and kind usage of your negroes, I think to Steer the Middle Course and give him thirty pistoles which will be £152 for the year 1748, and I can affirm from my own knowledge that he could have had £160 pr. Anny., but I would not Consent to it, and I know he will never take any other business after he leaves your's. At first perhaps Mr. Thomas lookt with an Eye of indifference towards Mr. Martin, out of his regard to Mr. Bannister, but for a good while past he hath treated him with Civility, as he finds Mr. Martin hath done more with the present gang than ever was done before and that without any Severity, but by his own Constant attendance and good Oeconomy in the Estate.

About three weeks agone we purchased for No. Sd. Six young Windward Coast Slaves, most of them about 18 years Old, one or two perhaps 22 or 23 at most. We could not keep nearer to your Orders, they prove very fine kindly worker's. I wish you would permitt me to put the like quantity at Winthorpes, they are really wanted and I fancy it might be done out of the Surplusage of the Rum of that Estate. The Six negroes now purchased are to be paid for out of Dapwell's rent; they cost £40 a head this money. I

have not yet been able to repair the losses of Cattle at No. Sound so as to make any thing by the Sale of young Cattle, nor shall I before next year I'm afraid.

The Misfortunes that hath befallen the Sugar Colony's these two years past have Caused many to alter their Schemes and hath induced me to Stay a little Longer here than I intended, however I hope you will Still Continue your Resolution to Appoint Dr. Patt Grant an Attorney as he is so near to five Islands and hath all your Affairs nearly at heart with a Particular Power to him to receive Dapwell's rent and lay it out Annually in negroe ladds. . . .

Antigua, June 19th 1749

George Thomas Esqr.

. . . Wee this year bought 6 Young Men for No. Sd. @ £40 pr. head, is £240, and Collo. Lessly³⁰ tells me Mr. Dapwell hath paid him for them, excepting £50, this out of the Rent of the Land. They prove fine People. . . . As for No. Sd. I think to take charge of that till I hear further from you about it.³¹ When Collo. King comes perhaps he may, otherwise I know of few that side of the Countrey to recommend to you. As for the Manadgement of the Estate I am Certain Mr. Martin will be Carefull and Diligent with-out as well as with an Attorney to Inspect them. . . . Both your Estates are in good Order. No. Sd. will make abot. 200 hhds. of Sugar, Winthorpes I fear hardly 60. As you Observe that Estate doth not answeare Expectation oweing to drie Weather Cheifly. There was 20 Acres of Land to the Westward of you belonged to one Gibson sold Lately, for which Dr. Richardson gave £80 pr. Acre this Money, a monstrous Price such as I believe you would not have given. . . .

I herewith Transmitt you the Accotts. of your Estate at Winthorpes, where the Balance in your favour is £134:15:2½, with which I have Build a good Sick house at Winthorpes, and new Shingled all your great House at five Islands and repaired the Outhouses &c., which was very Leaky. I have reed. the £100 nearly from Mr. Malloon for the Cattle Mill, which with the rent of the house at five Islands, and the Surplus for the Rum at Winthorpes this Crop I think could purchase 5 or 6 young People for that Estate. You really want them, indeed the negroe Men are craving for wives and therefore would advise Girls to be bought for that Estate and boys for No. Sd. I am yours &c.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, Novr. 22d 1749

George Thomas Esqr.

. . . There are many Vessells gone to the Coast of Guiney, so that it is probable Slaves will be in Plenty this year. I think to buy four young Girls and two Men boys, for Winthorpes, in the Crop, and I suppose as many at least for No. Sd. I Congratulate you on the agreeable purchase you have made in England.³² By this Vessell there is 15 hhds. of No. Sd. Sugar gone to Mr. Douglass, which I wish safe. I am Yrs. &c.

Wr. Tullideph

³⁰ Probably Col. Alexander Leslie, who later became Dr. Tullideph's son-in-law.

³¹ Mr. William Thomas, the attorney at North Sound plantation, died in 1749.

³² Sir George Thomas purchased the estates of Yapton and Ratton in Sussex, and a marble monument was erected to his memory in Willingdon Church. Oliver, *Caribbeana*, 2:337.

Antigua, Jany. 20th 1749/50

George Thomas Esqr.

... We had severe drie weather all Novr. and Deer. which hath greatly Injured our Crops but since Xmas. we have had fine rains. St. Kitts, Nevis & Montserratt have Suffered Still more and Barbadoes hath alsoe been drie so that if Jamaica doth not make a large Crop, I hope Sugar will keep up next year. The french Islands have been drie alsoe we hear. It is Impossible to say with any exactness what you may expect this next crop, yett I hope No. Sd. will do pretty well. Winthorpes hath had more drie weather and the Guinea Corn hath not grained so well as usual but we reaped abot. 60 Cart load of Yams there and near as much at No. Sd. where they alsoe broke in 27 load of Great Corn. They have alsoe a good potatoe peice but no room for Guinea Corn, so hope the charges of feeding will be very Little excepting Salt kind. Mr. Martin says he could plant 50 Acres Guinea Corn at Hamiltons to Share's if you approve of it. Mr. Martin's Sallary hath been sometime past £140 P. Anny. and a Pipe of Wine. I mention this to you to propose a further bounty to him, yett I think there may be room for it as the Estate is under such good Management & Oconomy, no expence for holling land or feeding the negroes. My family are well. I am &c.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, May 14th 1750

Govr. Thomas

... I was very Suspicious of Winthorpes, the Canes being much tainted with very drie weather. Most of the neighbourhood could hardly make Sugar. This hath been a Terrible Crop to Popeshead and Belfast³³ with some other places. All the other Islands hath Suffered as much if not more. What Jamaica may do we are yett uncertain. ... I am sorry to Acquaint you your brother left so many Old Debts against the [North Sound] Estate before it came into my Hands that I shall be very much puzled to keep up our Credit this year, and therefore will not be able to pay your Nephew the £200 Sterling out of the Surpluss Rum. Your Estate owes to Doctr. Pringle 6 or 7 years Sallary³⁴ as much as is due to him from Parham Plant. I fear N. Sd. won't make above 100 hhds. and Winthorpes hardly 30. I am,

Wr. T.

Antigua, Aprile 8th 1751

George Thomas Esqr: at Yapton Place
near Chicester in Sussex

... There is 10 hhds. N. Sd. Sugar on board the Ship Ann, Capt. Holland, who sails ye 15th Instant; 20 more on board Capt. Bruce, all consignd. to Mr. Douglas in case you think fit to insure, ye next to Mr. Bethel.³⁵ They have cutt 30 Acres at N. Sd. for 55 hhds. There is 80 Acres more of plants besides rattoons so you are likely to make 200 hhds. there, but I fear Winthorpe's will hardly exceed 30 hhds.³⁶ At N. Sd. they reapt

³³ Political subdivisions of Antigua.

³⁴ Large planters employed doctors to treat their slaves, paying at the rate of about six shillings per annum for every slave.

³⁵ Slingsby Bethel, a London sugar factor who became prominent as Lord Mayor of London and a Member of Parliament for London.

³⁶ In another letter Tullideph wrote, "Govr. Thomas North Sound Estate will make 200 hhds. Indeed I am glad to say it, that his makes the very best Crop of any Estate in the Island, of its Size, nay more than Parham Plantation at both their work's, but Winthorpes shares the fate of all that side of the Island." Ltr. to Dr. Walter Sydaerfe, April 13, 1751.

80 load Yams & 14 of Guinea Corn. There is 90 Acres planted for next Crop whereof 20 are dunged, 20 marld, and ten with ashes. Sugar 28/ to 35/, Rum 2/6d. & likely to continue if not rise. Very bad Accounts from Barbadoes. Yrs. &c.

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, June 30th 1751

Geo. Thomas Esqr. at Yapton Place
near Chicester in Sussex

. . . Gameing²⁷ was a reigning Vice here abot. 12 or 15 months ago, but as it was greatly discountenanced by Gentlemen of the best figure here, it is now much laid aside, & I find on enquiry here your Son never plays at any Games. We have had much Rain this Month which hath putt a Spring into the Canes, however I still hope you will make 200 hhds. at North Sound. Our Island will make abot. 14,000 hhds. this year and a fair prospect for next. I am,

Wr. T.

Antigua, Sepr. 31st 1751

Geo. Thomas Esqr.

. . . We had the most violent hurricane ever known here the 8th Instant which hath done great Damages to our buildings, and much more to our Canes. Your Losses are but Trifling when compared with others, where dwelling houses, Mills & workes are entirely destroyed. I my self have been a pretty large sufferer, which I bear with Resignation & Submission as it comes from the hand of God. The earlie rains and this unhappy Accident hath disappointed our expectations of the present Crop at No. Sound, having made only 152 hhds., and what Canes are left will now make very little. . . .

Antigua, March 25th 1752

George Thomas Esqr.

. . . Your No. Sd. Estate reaped few or no Yams oweing to the Hurricane, but your negroes have been fed these 12 weeks past out of a potatoe peice, and there is 13 load of great Corn in the house. They have now cutt 50 Acres of plant canes and made 60 hhds. of good Sugars. Most people think themselves well Satisfied to make a hhd. P. Acre this year. I think there is an Appearance for 150 hhds. at No. Sound, for the Crop at Winthorpes you fared better, for there was reaped 75 Cart load of yams, and good Deal of Guinea Corn, so that if we buy any negroes, I think we are pretty well provided with provisions there. There hath not been a Guinea Cargoe sold here these Six months, orders being lodged here for their proceeding to Jamaica where they fetch high prices, and I doubt we shall have very few to Stay this year. We have made 26 hhds. Sugar at Winthorpes, and hope to fetch 50 there unless very Severe weather should happen. We are exceeding drie at present and if we have not rain soon the Crop will be greatly Shortned. What Sugar hath as yett been made at Winthorpes is the best that I ever Saw made there. We have had a good deal of Calm weather this month, or else we would have been forwarder in our Crop, however we are pretty well as it is. I am,

Wr. T.

²⁷ In other letters Tullideph referred to the passion for cock fighting which attracted planters from neighboring islands to Antigua.

Antigua, May 6th 1752

George Thomas Esqr.

I have had Several meetings with Mr. Mackinnen ³⁸ on the Subject of renting Winthorpes, but he has so farr altered his Mind that he would not give above £250 Sterling. This severe drought hath thrown a damp on People's Minds, especially as there is very little Expectations for a Crop next year. Will. Jarvis would not give more than £400 Currency, although he once sent me word by the Overseer that he would give my Price, and Doer. Richardson had actually agreed with me to give £280 in case Mrs. Carlisle did not give the £300 as I wrote you before, but he hath now changed his Mind, and I have declared the Estate is not to be rented on these terms, and Indeed if a Gang of 30 or 40 Negroes could be gott, I would advise to purchase them to settle five Islands, although it would Occasion a draught on your Sterling Money. I hope your Sugars will neat you so much this Crop that you might easily spare part of it for so good a purpose. Warner Tempest's lease expires August next when I hear there will be a chance for 40 Seasoned Slaves. Collo. Thomlinson and I had proposed to bid for all and so to divide them for we are both concerned in that lease. As for my own part, I could give up my half to serve any friend as 10 new negroes would now sufficiently Slave me. I would advise that 20 hhds. Beans should be sent out for North Sound by first Opportunity as the Yams failed there. We shall be at a greater expence to feed than usual. I am,

Wr. Tullideph

Antigua, May 30th 1752

George Thomas, Esqr.

Nothing material hath hapned since my last letter, only a Continuance of the severe drought, and no likely hood of renting out Winthorpes. Inclosed you have Invoicee and Bill of Ladeing for 20 hhds. Sugar on board Capt. Sackett, and 20 ditto on board Capt. Jas. Davis. There is 20 more on board Capt. Bruce, ten on Coulter, and 20 now shipping on board Capt. Bowes. There is abot. 130 made at No. Sound and hope to make near 10 more. The Crop will be done early this year. The charges of feeding will run higher than usual owing to this Long drie weather, by which neither potatoes or great Corn could be raised. I must therefore again request your sending out, at least 20 hhds. of beans. My ffamily are well. Rum hath risen this week to 2/9d. I am yrs. &c.

Wr. T.

Antigua, July 8th 1752

The Honble. George Thomas Esqr.

This serves cheifly to Inclose Invoicee and Bill of Ladeing for 9 hhds. of your Sugar from Winthorpes by Ship Mary Galley, Andrew Pringle Capt. We have had a great Deal of Rain these three weeks past which very Seasonably filled all our Ponds. Mr. Mckinnons Daugr. was married last week to Young Dr. Frazer and Mr. Pares eldest daughter is to be married next week to Dr. Ashton Warner. Our great ffortunes here must be Content with such as can be gott here, for we have few Young Gentlemen of ffortune here at present. . . .

³⁸ William Mckinnen, a cousin of Sir George Thomas.

Antigua, Sept. 22d 1752

George Thomas Esqr.

Inclosed you have Invoice and Bill of Lading for Nine hhds. Sugar on board the Ship Bassnett, Andrew Lessely [master], which I wish safe to you. This Compleats all we have to Ship. Mr. Martin moved from No. 8d. the 18th Instant and is succeeded by Mr. Edward Hamilton, a son of Rowland Hamilton who hath the Character of an Honest Active Humane Man and a good Planter. He is a married Man but not likely to have any Children. There is 80 Acres of promising Plant Canes for next Crop & 20 Acres more which as they were planted late for want of Rain may probably not come in unless a very favourable Year. I am,

Wr. T.

Antigua, Dec. 3d 1752

George Thomas Esqr.

With regard to five Islands I am pleased that you decline putting up works there. I was wishing you would think in the manner you write. All I had done was to hire for the holling of two Small peices of Land and carrying down the negroes from both Estates for a few days to weed the Canes, and now I have putt it into the hands of Dr. Grant who will take the canes off at a reasonable Allowance.³⁹ We reed, the 20 hhds. Beans by Capt. Lusby and think it would be necessary to send as many more by any of the later Vessels in April or May as the Yams will fail at No. Sound and the Guinea Corn at Winthorpes. I think 10 or 15 young negroes are wanting at the latter Estate, of which I would recommend Ten Young Girls and five Young Men. I hope we will put on 8 of them with Dapwell's Money &c. and advise the dunging the Rattoons which I beleive will answeare. We have had some losses in negroes at No. 8d. lately. Two had been sickly lately & elderly, the other two a young woman with Child who miscarried and a Young boy. You will make a midling Crop. I am &c.

Wr. T.

Edenbr. [Scotland], Febr. 10th 1758

General Thomas

Sir:

I beg leave to acquaint your Excellency of my safe Arrival, my having passed some months in Scotland. And altho' the Winter hitherto hath proved favourable, yet I have been much afflicted with fever & Cough, as indeed I almost expected. I am now much better, but if I don't keep my health much better next winter, I propose, God Willing, returning to Antigua the following Spring. I therefore pray the favour of your Excellency's indulgence in being absent one year longer.⁴⁰ Your Excellency's much obliged & most obedt. Servt.

Wr. Tullideph

³⁹ Dr. Tullideph was preparing to make a short visit to England and had turned the management of the plantation over to Dr. Grant.

⁴⁰ Dr. Tullideph was a member of the Council of Antigua, and it was the practice to dismiss members who were absent from the Island for more than a year.

Colonial Agriculture in New Spain

RICHARD J. MORRISEY

Pre-Columbian America knew nothing of the plow or cart, of wheat or oxen, which had made Old World civilization great, but in some areas it did have a substantial agrarian basis in which maize, beans, and the hoe or planting stick were predominant. Though the primitive agriculture of the New World produced no Hesiod or Columella, local priests kept alive the lore of the soil and wove into rituals the simple processes of planting and harvesting. Where agriculture flourished, as in the Aztec and Incan empires, dwelt the highest cultures, and in many of them the deities worshipped and the seasons observed were closely identified with the soil. The native Americans understood and respected the basic value of agriculture; some of the early discoverers who sailed from Spain at first disregarded it.

A Spanish American historian truly observed that:

The peninsula dreamed only of the gold received from the mines of the Indies, while in reality its ships had opened the route for the transportation of meat, wool, and fruits heretofore arrested by the pillars of Hercules in their advance from the Asiatic cradle.¹

Only when the gold lust dimmed and the transfer of European seeds, animals, and implements began, with permanent settlement the goal, did the real significance of the discovery emerge. When the Old World sent its chattels to the New, once more was resumed the historic movement of civilization toward the West.

For America a new era had begun. The introduction of the ox and plow changed plot cultivation to the tillage of fields and permitted farming of grasslands which previously had defied primitive hoe culture. New seeds and new domestic animals brought fresh resources and enlarged and altered both the diet and industries of the natives. It was a revolution with an impact comparable to that of the Industrial Revolution some centuries later, and

like the Industrial Revolution the birth of the Columbian World brought a new cargo of vexing irritations and problems.

Probably paramount was the question of the relationship between conqueror and conquered, but there were other issues too. With the growth of a grazing industry, America now experienced the antagonism between farming and ranching pursuits which has conditioned at some time the historical development of most societies. And where was labor to work the fields and guard the herds to be found? These and many other problems posed difficulties, but the New World accepted and absorbed what Europe offered, and in turn gave generously of its own resources.

Columbus, the Grand Admiral, was among the first to understand that neither the glitter of gold nor exploitation of the native assets was enough to support the nascent colony on Española. During his second voyage to the New World, he stopped at Gomera in the Canary Islands and loaded

... animals which they, and those who had come hither, purchased, such as yearling calves, goats, sheep, and among other things, certain of those who had come here bought eight pigs at 70 *maravedis* a piece. From these eight pigs were multiplied all the pigs which to this day have been and are numberless, [and] hens, also, and this was the seed from which all that there is here of things of Castille have sprung, whether pigs and seeds of oranges, limes, and melons, and all kinds of vegetables.²

This was but the beginning, and henceforth Columbus was assiduous in fostering the agricultural growth of Española, a policy which succeeding governors followed. Cargo manifests of vessels departing from Spain for the Indies often listed

¹ Edmundo Wernicke, "Rutas y Etapas de las Introducción de los Animales Domésticos en las Tierras Americanas," *Anales de la Sociedad Argentina de Estudios Geográficos*, 6:77 (1938).

² Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (5 vols., Madrid, 1877) Bk. 2, Ch. 33, 3.

domestic animals such as horses, jackasses, cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, and pigs. Also included were seeds for field and garden and tools such as hoes, spades, picks, sledge hammers, crowbars, etc.³

The sovereigns of Spain were determined to create in the New World a self-sustaining agrarian unit, and to achieve this, royal farms were established in Española and elsewhere in the islands. It had become apparent that Spain could not furnish food for the increasing colonial population, and, besides, losses in transportation made a local source of supply more economical. After the original stocking of cattle and planting of seeds there was no further expense to the peninsular treasury, future funds coming from receipts brought in by colonial taxes.⁴ The success of this venture is attested by a royal grant to the city of Panama in 1521 of 500 cows, 500 yearlings, 200 sheep, 1,000 pigs, and 200 *cargas* of maize, all to be taken from the King's farm on Jamaica.⁵

As the surface gold of Española was skimmed from the ground and streams, ranching and sugar production replaced it in the island's economy. Toward the middle of the sixteenth century one observer commented: "These two articles, that is to say, sugar and hides, are the staples of this island, wherefore all the Spanish merchants who go to trade now bring back with them nothing else."⁶ Certainly a substantial amount of agricultural progress could be noted. Each day in Santo Domingo an average of 40 to 50 steers and cows, 30 to 35 sheep, 20 veal animals, and 10 to 12 hogs were slaughtered for consumption.⁷ Praising the generosity of Española's soil, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, warden of the fortress at Santo Domingo and an old settler in the Indies, asked:

In what land has it ever been heard of or known that in such a short space of time and in regions so far removed from this Europe of ours, so much livestock and crops are produced and in such abundance as our eyes behold in these Indies, after being brought over hither here across such broad expanses of sea?⁸

And then he remarked:

This land has taken these things to herself not as a stepmother, but as one more truly a mother than the land that sent them to her, for some of them produce yields in far greater quantity and better than in Spain. This applies both to livestock useful in the service of man and to wheat, vegetables, fruits, and sugar. A start of these things left Spain in my time and in a short period these have multiplied themselves to such an extent that ships come back to supply Europe. . . .⁹

Española was the island mother of America. From it went the seeds and animals, plants and shoots, to begin European agriculture in newly conquered realms. Because of this, it is important to note some of the introductions that had found such a hospitable home in the New World. Oviedo y Valdéz, besides mentioning domestic animals, enumerates "countless groves of orange trees, citrons, limes and lemons, both sweet and sour" which equalled the best of Sevilla and Cordova, and many fig and pomegranate trees. Only the stoned fruits, he comments, had failed to yield well. Grains and vines flourished, and truck gardening prospered with ample harvests of lettuce, radishes, watercress, parsley, mint, onions, cabbage, kidney beans, carrots, and cucumbers. Although the soil was as natural and suitable for eggplants "as it is to Guinea negroes,"

³ *Colección de Documentos Inéditos Relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista, y Colonización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas en América y Oceanía* (42 vols., Madrid, 1864-), 18:330.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:459-463.

⁵ Ricardo Cappa, *Estudios Críticos acerca de la Dominación Española en América* (20 vols., Madrid, 1889-1897), 5:13. The author mentions one such royal estancia grazing 1,650 cattle and 60 brood mares. C. H. Haring, "Ledgers of the Royal Treasurers in Spanish America in the 16th Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 2:185 (May 1929), lists two such grants of local tax receipts to support a royal ranch.

⁶ Manuel de la Puente y Olea, *Los Trabajos Geográficos de la Casa de Contratación* (Sevilla, 1900), 431.

⁷ Girolamo Benzoni, *History of the New World* (London, 1857), 92.

⁸ Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdéz, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias y Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano* (Madrid, 1851), Bk. 6, Ch. 26. A typescript partial translation in Bancroft Library, University of California, was used extensively.

⁹ *Ibid.*

artichokes took on a bitter, disagreeable taste and were fit "only for those given to drink."¹⁰ So here is the picture of agricultural development in Española, the island that first supplied the mainland.

From Española the conquests spread to other islands of the Antilles. As the people of Puerto Rico, Jamaica, and Cuba were pacified, the foothold of European agriculture in the New World was extended. Although the Spaniards in Española were jealous of the island's prosperity and loath to share its primacy as a provisioner, the plants and animals so lately introduced inevitably followed the banners of the conquistadors. The horse, as an awesome and terrifying instrument of war to the natives, has received considerable attention, but "if the horse was of real significance in the Conquest," Carlos Pereyra has written, "the hog was of greater importance and contributed to a degree that defies exaggeration. The conquest of Mexico, Peru, and New Granada was the work of the Antillean planters who furnished the *empresarios* of the expeditions."¹¹

Hernán Cortés, conqueror of Mexico, saw the similarity of climate and fertility between the mother country and the new domain and accordingly named it "New Spain of the Ocean Sea." When the capital of the Aztecs fell to him on August 13, 1521, Cortés realized that permanent progress and prosperity depended upon the orderly development of the real and potential resources of the country. Determined to multiply the wealth of the region by establishing new vegetation and introducing domestic animals, he sent Gregorio de Villalobos to reside in Vera Cruz and superintend the imports of animals and foodstuffs.¹² Cortés himself enthusiastically turned to the soil. Sugar, silk, vines, cattle, horses, cotton, and wool are only some of the activities he mentions in letters and other documents.

The treasure of Mexico when divided had brought but a small reward compared to expectations, and so most of the conquerors secured *encomiendas*, in which groups of Indians were entrusted to an *encomendero*

as vassals, giving to him tribute or labor. This feudal system, however, was contrary to the centralizing tendency of the times and to the aggrandizement of royal power and the desire of the king to control directly rather than to sub-infeudate. A wise *encomendero* might have detected in certain decrees of 1531-1533 that his power was to be limited and that his livelihood should be sought in some productive function. During the period from 1530 to 1550 a series of royal orders greatly decreased the power of the *encomenderos*, making agrarian units smaller and more amenable to control. The best example of this new spirit can be found in the establishment of the farming and ranching community of Puebla de los Angeles, about 20 leagues east of Mexico City, on the road to Vera Cruz.¹³

The plan provided for a village community, the rural-urban pattern so characteristic of European agriculture. Grants were made for city and country use. Cattle ranching was the first major activity, but soon wheat farming surpassed it, the region becoming one of the foremost wheat producers in New Spain. Irrigation was extended to much of the land to supplement natural moisture. Here, "rather than the *señores* of great herds, possessing immense domains, one encountered groups of laborers, cattle breeders, proprietors of family-size farms who live on their lands or in the immediate vicinity," persons who belonged to and remained with the economic life of the community.¹⁴

With the growth of farming activity, the crown sent agricultural experts to New

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Bk. 1, Ch. 3.

¹¹ Carlos Pereyra, *La Obra de España en América* (Madrid, 1920), 120.

¹² Francisco de Icaza, *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España* (2 vols., Madrid, 1923), 1:223. Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* (3 vols., Washington, 1923-37), 1:41.

¹³ François Chevalier, "Signification Sociale de la Fondation de Puebla de los Angeles," *Revista de Historia de América*, 23:105-129 (June, 1947).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 129.

Spain.¹⁵ Gradually a systematic planting for wheat was evolved. In the basin of Anahuac, the land around the capital, there were three crops a year. The first, called the *aventurera*, was planted early in the spring on the hillsides and harvested in May, usually giving a sparse crop. The second, called the *mediana* or *riego*, often was irrigated and was planted later, generally being ripe by June. The third, the *temporal*, was planted during the summer and harvested in October, being the most dependable and bountiful of all.¹⁶ Maize, which remained the staple of the Indians of southern Mexico, was planted from March to May, bringing the harvest during the summer. Yields of all grains were generous and surplus crops from 14 leagues about were stored in a central granary in the capital. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Mexico City was consuming 170,000 sheep, 12,000 cattle, 30,000 hogs, 220,000 *fanegas* of maize, and 180,000 *fanegas* of flour each year.¹⁷

In its northward advance, the Spanish frontier soon left behind the relatively well-watered region of the Aztec empire and emerged onto the great central plateau of Mexico. Here, on this rugged highland, the climatic and topographical features prevented any substantial development of agriculture, and here too the Spaniards encountered nomadic and barbarous Indians generally called the Chichimecas. Fortunately for the conquerors, the grass and browse made good forage for cattle and sheep, and on the plateau a great grazing province developed.

When rich silver strikes were made at Zacatecas in 1546 and Guanajuato in 1554, large populations moved into these areas, providing a ready market for meat. The miners themselves utilized a tremendous quantity of tallow for making candles and purchased hides to be made into bags for transferring ore to the smelter and for packing the refined metal. Clothing, harness, saddles, hinges, water bags, and a host of other commodities were made from leather. Because of this, little attention was paid to building up the beef qualities of the animals used. The hides were far

more likely to find a market than the flesh.

San Juan de los Rios became the center of most livestock movements. Centrally located and conveniently situated at a ford of the river, it was a point of registration where herds being moved south or north were counted and had the brands checked and certified by appointed justices. These men, agents of the viceroy, were equipped with brand books recording all of the brands of the region, and they guarded against any illegal transfer of stock, charging for their services only 1 peso for each 100 head.¹⁸ By 1582 it was estimated that more than 100,000 cows, 200,000 sheep, and 10,000 horses were grazing on a range 9 leagues square north of San Juan.¹⁹ Here, in New Spain, the concept of the *estancia* as a privately-owned livestock ranch acquired by government grant seems to have originated and become prevalent, overwhelming the Old World idea of communal use of pasture. While these ranches were primarily stock-grazing ventures, supplementary farming on a commercial scale accompanied them wherever there was enough rainfall and most of the cattlemen raised foodstuffs for their family and retainers.

Early explorations, such as the Coronado epic, had clearly shown the poverty of the northern hinterland of New Spain. Populated by hostile Indians and possessed of few attractions, this region, encompassing what is today the southwestern part of the United States, had little allure for the private enterpriser. In the extension of

¹⁵ Vicente Riva Palacio, ed., *México á Través de los Siglos* (5 vols., Barcelona, 1883-1889), 2:491-494.

¹⁶ Irving A. Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora* (Berkeley, 1929), 114. Chester L. Guthrie, "Colonial Economy, Trade, Industry, and Labor in Seventeenth Century Mexico City," *Revista de Historia de América*, 7:111 (December, 1939).

¹⁷ Guthrie, *Ibid.*, 104.

¹⁸ "Comisión a Juan farfan de liçarraras sobre el registro del ganado que pasa por anacatepec," *Archivo General de la Nación, General de Parte*, 2:301-302. Bancroft Library, University of California, photostat.

¹⁹ Hernando de Vargas, "Descripción de Querétaro," in Primo Feliciano Velásquez, ed., *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de San Luis Potosí* (4 vols., San Luis Potosí, 1887-1889), 1:19.

Spanish civilization here two agencies were of outstanding importance, the mission and the presidio. Primarily concerned with bringing the Catholic faith to the natives, the missions nevertheless were important agricultural institutions, for not only was it necessary to feed the host of neophytes, but, to insure and continue their conversion, it was essential that they be trained in the rudiments of civilized life. Presidios, as defensive bulwarks against real or imagined threats from the north, safeguarded the missionaries and the civilian populace which had pushed to the frontier.

It was the mission, however, which introduced new animals, seeds, and techniques, and which improved upon native agriculture. An example of these functions can be found in the agricultural system devised by the Society of Jesus for its Sonora missions. Each Indian was responsible for his own support, and the Indian pueblo, or village, was collectively responsible for the support of the mission.²⁰ European farm implements, such as the iron hoe and axe, were introduced by the padres and furnished to each village, and at planting time the Indian governor of each village called at the mission for necessary seeds which were then apportioned by the missionary.²¹ A yoke of oxen and a plow likewise were provided for communal use. Despite the reluctance of the natives to labor diligently, the system generally produced more than enough to meet the needs of the pueblo, and in the prospectors and miners who eventually flocked into the country the missionary fathers found a ready market for surplus.²²

Most of the animals, fruits, vegetables, and grains which had been transported to Española and thence to the mainland were carried north with the advancing line of settlement. Straw from three varieties of wheat and one kind of barley has been found in adobe mission structures erected before 1706 in southern Arizona and northern Sonora, and pomegranates, quince, figs, pears, apricots, grapes, peaches, oranges, lemons, limes, apples, chick-peas, lentils, lima beans, kidney beans, peas, mustard, chile, radishes, anise, and sugar cane ap-

peared in mission gardens.²³ These exotic foods came as alien but remained to flourish, yields of grain and vegetables, in particular, astounding the padres.

The importance of cattle and sheep ranching on this northern frontier was vital, for in many localities too inhospitable to support extensive agriculture, grazing was the only practicable activity. The Anglo-American frontiersmen, upon reaching the dry, treeless Great Plains, leaped over them to the Pacific Slope. The Hispanic American frontiersmen, already experienced New World cattlemen, upon reaching a similar environment simply turned to stockraising. The significance of cattle in an arid province is clearly shown by a report on Texas missions, made in 1785, which states:

... it is necessary to observe that the only revenue which this mission has had since its erection has been that of cattle (for, on account of the poor rainfall, and the impossibility of irrigation, it does not enjoy, as the other missions do, recourse to agriculture). Yet, with that resource alone it was so rich and prosperous that the mission was able to conserve, and even increase and perpetuate its income. . . .²⁴

Speaking of the Texas missions in general, the same document asserts:

That which does reproduce and increase rapidly is cattle. It is the principle dependence of these missions, all of which had a considerable number with which they maintained and preserved themselves without trouble or the least scarcity.²⁵

In northern New Spain, the old borderlands later seized by the United States and today comprising the states from Texas

²⁰ Don Diego Ortiz y Parrilla, "Carta . . .," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico* (Mexico, 1856), Series 3, Part 6:898.

²¹ Padre Antonio de los Reyes, "Memorial sobre las Misiones de Sonora, 1771," *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Series 3, Part 5:755, 730.

²² Theodore E. Treutlein, trans. and ed., "The Relation of Philip Segesser," *Mid-America*, 17: 184 (July, 1945).

²³ George W. Hendry, "The Adobe Brick as a Historical Source," *Agricultural History*, 5:110-127 (July, 1931).

²⁴ Fray José Francisco López, "Condición de las Misiones de Texas, 1785," ms. in Bancroft Library, University of California.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

west to California, the energy of the Spanish colonizing drive ran out. The eighteenth century debility of the mother country indicated that these northern bastions be retained only for defensive purposes and that retrenchment, not expansion, was the order of the day. By the introduction of new crops and animals, however, the Spaniards marked permanently the land which stretches northward through the cactus country. Today, in the ranching and farm-

ing empire of the Southwest, where still the *vaquero* guards cattle, the *pastor* tends his sheep, and the *labrador* tills the field, the Spanish legacy is apparent. Time has brought refinements to old processes, but fundamentally the Southwest still looks back across the grand panorama of New World farming and ranching to the first arks which sailed out from Cadiz and the Canaries, bearing new crops and domestic animals to America.

A CROP CONTROL SKEPTIC OF 1852

Conventions have been spoken of, and even called, to devise means for lessening the production of cotton. It has been proposed to limit, by legislative enactment, by voluntary association and pledge, and otherwise, the number of bales per hand to be sent to market—a thing we deem absolutely impossible to bring about. Other schemes equally feasible have been proposed, and just about as likely to be carried into effect. Means may, unquestionably, be used to lessen the production of cotton, and at the same time to place the planter in a position in which he would be less entirely dependent upon this one crop. Let him *manufacture* as well as *grow* the staple; and let him employ a sufficient extent of his land and force in the production of his home supplies, and of food for those engaged in manufacturing; and he at once makes both edges cut.—Thomas Affleck in his *Southern Rural Almanac*, p. 61, 1852.

A CATTLE BUYER IN ABILENE

In the fall of 1869 I went back to Kansas to buy cattle. I was delayed one night and had to stop at Abilene. That night there were seven men shot there. . . . There was a dance in the dining room that night. The girls came out of the bushes and the Texas boys had their spurs on. I told the landlord that I wanted to go to bed and he gave me the best room in the house, but when I went in, I found I was to occupy it with another gentleman. This gentleman asked me where I was from. He said he never expected to be as near hell on earth as he was tonight. He told me he was from Baltimore, Md., and that he had come out to look at a tract of land on the south side of Smoky river. He said he was the presiding elder of the Methodist Church in Baltimore. I did not wonder that he thought this a hard place. I had hard work to make him quit talking so I could go to sleep.—*Life of Tom Candy Ponting*, pp. 60-61, Decatur, Illinois, 1904.

David Dickson's "System of Farming" and the Agricultural Revolution in the Deep South, 1850-1885

CHESTER McARTHUR DESTLER

Among the disadvantages of Negro slavery in Southern agriculture before 1860, as noted by Lewis C. Gray, were "the slow accumulation of local capital" and a resulting capital scarcity that "retarded the adoption of labor-saving devices." Extravagance in production and consumption in the Lower South prevented capital accumulation by planters in whose hands a disproportionately large share of money income was concentrated.¹

James C. Bonner, however, later described a pre-Sumter agricultural revolution in middle Georgia. Under the leadership of the Hancock County (Ga.) Planters' Club, some planters enjoyed high prosperity from scientific farming.² This suggests that on some plantations in the Lower South capital accumulated at a rate sufficient to finance them, pay for technological improvements, and allow investment in regional industry and railroads such as the Southern nationalists demanded. Furthermore, it appears possible, *a priori*, that significant continuities in agriculture developed between the antebellum and Reconstruction periods in areas other than the labor system.

An analysis of the career of David Dickson of Hancock County, a somewhat neglected leader in the antebellum agricultural revolution, illumines both of these subjects.³ His activities were also related to an almost forgotten agricultural revival that occurred in the Deep South during Reconstruction. Dickson's achievements include agricultural capital accumulation and rural capital investment in non-agricultural fields prior to and after 1861. He likewise made significant antebellum and postbellum innovations in agricultural technology and field management that had far-reaching and enduring influences. Be-

cause Dickson remarked in 1860 that he had hundreds of neighbors who were making large planting profits,⁴ and since, after 1867, he possessed at least one important local rival in fertilizer manufacturing⁵ while he remained the leading planter of the region, a broader study of these neglected aspects of Southern agricultural history is in order.

The purpose of this more limited study, after analyzing the antebellum development of Dickson's "system of farming," is to portray his postbellum adaptation of it to a free economy, his contribution to the victory of scientific agriculture in the region, and his auxiliary business entrepreneurship.

In 1845, two years after the founding of the Hancock County Planters' Club, Dickson invested \$25,000 which he had saved during 14 years as a merchant. He began with 266 acres of scorned pine lands purchased for from 50¢ to \$2 an acre. He

¹ Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 vols., Washington, 1933), 1:460, 941.

² James C. Bonner, "Genesis of Agricultural Reform in the Cotton Belt," *Journal of Southern History*, 9:475-500 (November, 1943).

³ Dickson's papers and records have disappeared. An insurance company owned his home plantation for years. During this inquiry it has been visited, the Hancock County records examined, a former Dickson employee, John Q. Cheeley of Sparta, interviewed, George W. Gilmore of Sandersville, Ga., a former acquaintance of Dickson and friend of Alfred Harrison, his former overseer in Washington County, supplied important information. Dr. H. B. Warthen of Davisboro, Ga., loaned a copy of David Dickson's *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture* (Macon, 1870) and many numbers of the *Southern Cultivator*. Pertinent scholarly sources have been examined.

⁴ Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 203.

⁵ A "Dr. [E. M.] Pendleton" of Sparta, Ga.



David Dickson
"The Model Farmer"

worked his slaves hard. If overseer or hired workers were unsatisfactory, he dismissed them forthwith. He was among the first of the planters to use cotton seed as a fertilizer, hauling it back from the gins when others dumped it into the rivers. He mixed the seed with oak ashes and spread it on his fields.⁶ By 1860 he possessed a fortune of some \$500,000,⁷ a spectacular success. This he consistently attributed thereafter to what he claimed was an original system of agriculture, developed during his first five to ten years of planting.

Dickson began planting in a county where opinion was increasingly favorable to progressive methods. Very probably he was influenced by Captain R. S. Hardwick, organizer of the Planters' Club which excluded Dickson because of his open liaison with a female slave. Like his improving planter neighbors, he read earnestly in available agricultural treatises and journals, including the *Southern Cultivator*. That journal had published Edmund Ruffin's remarkable "Exhausting and Fertilizing Systems of Agriculture" in 1853.⁸

Dickson quickly became an innovator in field culture, agricultural technology, and plantation management. He adopted and

adapted advanced methods developed earlier by English and American agricultural reformers, as when he substituted deep horizontal plowing for the traditional shallow up-and-down-hill method. More novel was his employment of the light shovel, scooter, and bull-tongue plows to prepare the seedbed, and the harrow to cover the cotton and corn seed. Then, having observed that the customary deep cultivation injured plant roots, he devised instead a novel method of shallow cultivation between the rows. For this he perfected a "sweep," soon named for him, of 22 to 26 inches breadth, adjustable "wings," and an 8 to 10 inch point. It was based upon the seldom-used "buzzard wing,"⁹ and restricted cultivation to one-half inch in depth, while constant use kept the soil free of weeds and grass. This method resulted in greatly increased production.

Soil improvement and fertility retention became major objects of his system. He gathered livestock manure systematically and spread it on his fields like other progressive agriculturalists. Instead of clover as a soil builder, he planted field peas between corn rows. After harvest he plowed under the pea vines and corn stalks, or he fed the ripe peas and corn in the field to enrich the land with livestock manure. This he plowed under together with the roughage. He instituted subsoil drainage, ditching, and maximum retention of vegetable matter so as to reduce erosion to a

⁶ Interview with Gilmore, May 1937; Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 237. At first, according to Gilmore, Dickson was influenced by his older, more sociable and civic-minded brother, Thomas, a Washington County planter who owned some lands in Hancock County and in Texas, and whose entrepreneurial initiation led them together to build a profitable antebellum waterpower cotton mill at Hamburg.

⁷ Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 241.

⁸ *Southern Cultivator*, 11:66-71 (March, 1853); Avery Craven, *Edmund Ruffin, Southerner* (New York, 1932), 92; Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 96-100, 237; Interview with Gilmore.

⁹ *Southern Cultivator*, 29:27 (January, 1871); Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, *passim*.

minimum. He adopted a four-fold crop rotation—cotton, corn and peas, wheat or oats, and fallow—adapted from the program of the agricultural reformers of England and the Upper South. Dickson acquired fine breeds of livestock. He developed an unusual balance between field culture and livestock raising. He produced sufficient beef, pork, bacon, milk, potatoes, turnips, corn, and wheat to feed his household, "hands," and stock.

He enhanced this plantation self-sufficiency by manufacturing farm equipment in his plantation workshops. This helped him to save the proceeds of his cotton crop to invest in more lands and slaves. He pyramided his scale of operations until his lands approximated 15,000 acres in 1860, much of it in forest.

Meanwhile, he developed peripheral business enterprises. He manufactured his sweep for sale as others copied his method of shallow cultivation. When his tests in seed selection produced a type that ensured a larger stand of cotton than that of any seed on the market, he not only planted his own brand exclusively but marketed a surplus of it annually. Its superiority became widely acknowledged before 1861.

To save money, he built grist mills and water-power cotton gins on streams on his lands. The ponds produced fish to feed his "hands." Later he built four steam gins. As an experienced merchant he introduced bookkeeping into his management and applied cost accounting to field operations.

Dickson also developed an unusual rapport with his slaves. This was attributable to their superior diet, perhaps to his biracial household, and certainly to the respect for them implied by his insistence that they become skilled workers. His slaves became proud of their skill and superior productivity.

A motion study enabled Dickson to devise and teach a new method of cotton picking. This increased a slave's daily average to 300 pounds, with 700 for the best pickers. He made time studies of crop planting to develop the most productive schedule and mesh planting and cultivation more

efficiently. After a mathematical analysis and field tests, he revised his crop row and plant spacing so as to secure optimum yields and higher quality product with less seed. He kept a maximum number of teams operating during planting and cultivating. His workshops constructed heavy wagons which he used constantly to haul supplies and, during harvest, to carry cotton to the railroads. While advancing quickly ahead of other planters in his neighborhood, Dickson continued to experiment instead of being content with having developed a superior system. He read more agricultural literature, adapting and practicing what he found useful. He placed emphasis upon agricultural chemistry.

Among Dickson's greatest innovations was his utilization of Peruvian guano as a fertilizer. He was not the first (as he claimed later) or the only planter of the Deep South to experiment with it. Yet, when most others gave up in discouragement he persisted until he achieved spectacular results. Beginning in 1846 with limited quantities, after reading a report in the *American Farmer*, he was using it generally for cotton and corn by 1855. He reported his experiments with guano in the agricultural journals. Thus, Dickson contributed significantly to a widespread introduction of guano. He came to be regarded as the pioneer advocate of its use in the Cotton Belt. Guano, he declared, "needs no help." In 1860 his guano bill was \$13,000.

Dickson also developed a guano-based fertilizer to advance his soil-building program. Mixing Peruvian guano with acid-dissolved bones, salt, and land plaster in carefully tested proportions, he developed a "Dickson Compound" which provided essential chemical elements for plant growth. He used it profitably for cotton, corn, oats, and wheat; he also applied it in large amounts for turnips and potatoes. Then he published his formula in the agricultural journals, together with the results of his field tests with it.

His highly profitable system of farming included thrifty "living at home," mini-

mizing overseer costs, personal direction of slave training and field operations, and the retention of a cash working capital equal to a year's crop income. This enabled him to farm on a cash basis free from the control of ubiquitous factors.

This system yielded an average profit of 80 per cent per annum. Reinvestment of much of it financed the swift expansion of Dickson's land holdings, which made him an influential figure. His spectacular crop yields attracted a growing stream of visitors, eager for information about his methods. They learned first-hand of the profitable results of his *intensive* cultivation in contrast to the prevailing *extensive* method. He published many letters describing his techniques and their results in the agricultural journals in the late 1850's, *viz.*, that he netted an income of \$59,000 in 1859 from the labor of 59 "hands" who "made and gathered" 657 bales of cotton and produced \$100 each of corn, meat, and wheat. In 1860 he produced 810 bales on 950 acres with 60 "hands." A fertilizer experiment that year on four acres produced 1,200 pounds of seed cotton per acre. His system doubled production per acre, increased yields per hand 50 per cent, and quintupled profits!¹⁰

Dickson emerged, then, as the sensational leader of the agricultural revolution in the Deep South on the eve of the siege of Fort Sumter. When A. J. Lane of Granite Hill, Hancock County, Georgia, termed Captain Hardwick the initial leader and most inveterate early experimenter of the local planters, he added, "it is hard to mention anything in connection with our advancement without bringing in" David Dickson, who had

... obtained almost a world-wide notoriety, and ... has been dubbed (I think deservedly so) the "prince of Southern Farmers." ... His success in Agriculture, and his profits derived from the cultivation of pine lands, have been unprecedented. If his system of cultivation was better understood and more generally practiced, thousands of our good citizens would feel themselves more permanently settled, cultivate their lands with ten times more pleasure, and double the profits they now derive.¹¹

During the Civil War Dickson raised only provisions for the Southern armies, "for most of which he received no pay ... even in Confederate money." Gen. W. T. Sherman's "March Through Georgia" destroyed his hoarded cotton (400 bales) and a large stock of provisions, while the Union army carried away all his livestock. Emancipation wiped out his investment in slaves. His total war-borne losses exceeded \$300,000.¹²

During the post-Appomattox agricultural crisis of 1865-1867 in the Deep South, the *Southern Cultivator*, then removed to Athens, Georgia, attempted to revive the pre-Sumter zeal of the planters for agricultural improvement. It provided a forum for analysis of plantation problems, and recommended the substitution of farm tenancy for the gang system that emancipation had made unworkable. The editors and planters alike, however, believed that freedmen must be subjected to managerial supervision to forestall agricultural ruin and prevent them from becoming charges on the community.¹³

Dickson aided the *Cultivator's* campaign vigorously and then assumed the leadership. He published frequent letters in it during 1867-1870 in attempts to hold the planters to scientific and progressive methods, to guide them into a workable system of tenancy, to help them to conduct their operations so as to free themselves from debt to the factors, and to oppose induced immigration of Chinese coolies or Italian laborers, as was being proposed, as well as emigration to Texas as an escape from existing chaos. By agricultural re-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 191-204, 226; *Southern Cultivator*, 18: 338, 352-353 (November, 1860); Ralph Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1933), 225-227; Weymouth T. Jordan, "The Peruvian Guano Gospel in the Old South," *Agricultural History*, 24: 211-221 (October, 1950).

¹¹ *Southern Cultivator*, 18: 341-342 (November, 1860); Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 18, 100-101, 202-203. By this time Dickson possessed 250 select slaves.

¹² *Ibid.*, 241-242.

¹³ *Southern Cultivator*, 27:1, 33-34 (January, 1869); 25-28; *passim* (1867-1870).

form and reorganization he tried to lead the ruined Southeast back to solvency and restore the planter class to control.

While attempting this, however, he had first to save himself and adapt his "system" to the new circumstances. Actually, he was better off than most planters. His lands were debt free, now including those of his late brother, Thomas, in Hancock and Washington Counties and in Texas. During 1865-1867 he retained his antebellum working force as freedmen. He attempted to return to his pre-war farming program after restocking his plantations and repairing or replacing farm equipment. At this time he purchased a large quantity of cotton in Middle Georgia that he sold at a large profit to an English company in Charleston, South Carolina, with which he was connected. This financed the rehabilitation of his plantations. He derived other income from marketing "Dickson's Cotton Seed," the new "Select Dickson's Cotton Seed," and the "Dickson Compound" fertilizer. An Augusta partnership, in which he had an interest, manufactured and marketed the fertilizer utilizing ingredients imported from John Merryman & Co., Inc. The latter was a Baltimore firm in which he may also have been an investor.¹⁴

For several years, however, he farmed at a net loss. Freedom demoralized his working force as it did that of most planters. After a drastic decline in crop yields, he soon began to abandon the gang system for tenancy in an attempt to hold his freedmen and make his lands productive. Losses from the stealing, mistreatment, and death of his livestock in 1867 were \$10,000, in contrast with an annual stock loss of \$2,000 in 1861. Then his slaves had produced from 10 to 15 bales each (annually) as the result of his unique system of intensive cultivation.

With freedmen he made three bales to the hand in 1866 (a bad season) and five and a half bales in 1867 . . . before the war eight hundred to twelve hundred pounds of pork were made to each hand. Now (1868) the entire stock of hogs is nearly annihilated. . . .

With cotton at 30 cents a pound in 1866 he lost several thousand dollars. In 1867 with

the price at 15 cents he barely paid expenses.¹⁵

Nevertheless, he persisted. While he adhered to experimentation, sub-soil drainage, crop rotation, etc., he did not at first succeed in restoring his antebellum balance between field culture and livestock. Bidding by other planters in 1867 for his skilled tenants enticed most of them away with promises of 50 per cent of the crop that they should raise. He replaced these with tenants drawn from 40 plantations. With them he farmed with meager results. During the next autumn, however, most of his former tenants returned, preferring to accept a third of the crop made on his lands.

Thereafter, Dickson never suffered from lack of an efficient working force. Before long he was able to raise sufficient numbers of hogs and cattle (Ayreshires in the early 'eighties), corn, wheat, etc., to supply his tenants with flour, pork, bacon, beef, meal, field peas, and milk, plus fish from his ponds. Eventually, when a tenant had split his quota of rails he could keep his stock in the tenants' pasture. Consequently, Dickson's tenants and hired workers, buying their food from him, ate better than those of other planters, who supplied theirs with only the traditional corn meal and fat back. Dickson instilled into his tenants pride in skilled work. He cared for and respected them. The superior mules and farm equipment which he provided enhanced his prestige with them.¹⁶

Apparently, the carpetbaggers didn't bother his tenants because after 1868 few of them left to work for others. In 1869 his lands began "to pay dividends again," as he put it. In 1870, including his Texas lands, he again "made" 900 bales of cotton.

Thus, he returned successfully to intensive cultivation, maintaining soil fertility

¹⁴ Advertisements in *ibid.*, 28: *passim* (January, March, 1870); 29: *passim* (February, 1871).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 27 (February, 1869), quoting *Cincinnati Commercial*, April 11, 1868, quoted in R. P. Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution in Georgia* (Madison, 1914), 51 n.

¹⁶ Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 166 ff.; Interview with Gilmore.

by practicing scientific methods. Early in the 'seventies he conducted field experiments in co-operation with the new State Department of Agriculture. He selected his own corn seed; he ground his own corn; he ginned his own cotton. In the last year of his life (1885) he was still operating three wagons with six mule teams daily to Sparta and to his guano house on the railroad at Coulton. He was still manufacturing his sweep for sale in his plantation workshop, as he had done in 1869 in shops at Sparta and Athens. He "lived at home," going to Sparta but once a month. He enjoyed limited social life and only occasional contact with his sisters. He raised a young man, Thomas J. Warthen, retained him as a close associate, and bequeathed to him all his Washington County lands.¹⁷

Dickson's financial success after 1867, his spectacular yields resulting from use of his select cotton seed and the "Compound," and his frequent letters to the *Southern Cultivator* revived and enhanced his reputation as an agriculturalist. This now extended as far west as Louisiana, west Tennessee, and Arkansas; his fame even reached India. His opposition to induced immigration as "destructive of the cotton interest" contributed to the planters' rejection of it. He urged them, instead, to retain the freedmen as their working force, arguing that they could not get rid of the Negroes in any event. He claimed, "The only way to make it tolerable for them to live amongst us, is to give them employment. With full employment they will steal less, be more law-abiding, and a less nuisance in every way." Instead of selling their lands at nominal prices and emigrating, planters should hold these against an inevitable population increase and be thankful for the high price of cotton. If they produced their provisions and supplies, lived economically, practiced scientific tillage, and managed efficiently they would survive.¹⁸

He preached the efficacy of manures, guano, and guano-based commercial fertilizers with great success, coupled this with reports of his spectacular field experiments.

He published again the formula of his "Compound," insisting that it paid him to prepare this for his own use from ingredients purchased from Merryman & Co., whose advertisements he endorsed. So great was his influence that, in 1870, J. Dickson Smith declared that he had "made the guano market," although it was evident that this was fostered also by the competition of other guano fertilizers (i.e., "Dr. Pendleton's Compound" produced at Sparta), the agitation of farm journals, and reports of field experiments. A revised railroad freight schedule and the readiness of factors to sell guano on credit secured by crop liens also furthered its widespread use.

This vogue was heightened by the publication in 1868 of Dickson's 1867 experiment with his "compound" on a 70-year-old 16-acre field. There, by using 515 pounds per acre, planting "Dickson Seed, Oxford, Georgia," and cultivating with his regular method, he produced 3,000 pounds of seed cotton per acre.¹⁹ Despite high costs, that extraordinary yield netted a large profit. In 1870 he spent \$20,000 for fertilizer ingredients, and used his "Compound" exclusively for all crops.²⁰

Again worth a reputed \$500,000, his fortune was substantially larger than that of 1860 when he had owned his working force. He was again living well. He devoted half his time to writing and to visitors who came from "all parts of the United States" to see his plantation and study his farming methods.²⁰

Much of his revised "System" in 1870 was derived from his antebellum practice:

¹⁷ Interviews with Gilmore and Cheeley; advertisements, *Southern Cultivator*, 26-28; *passim* (1869-1870).

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 25-28; *passim* (1867-1870), for evidence of his wide influence; Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 171-177, 182-188, 249-255.

¹⁹ *Southern Cultivator*, 27:2-11, 33, 34 (January, 1869); 28: advertisements (January, 1870); Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 123-127, 134-137, 221, 238, 242.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 243. At this time, Dickson owned a "good deal of railroad and company stock."

use of the "Compound," crop rotation, planting field peas with corn as a soil builder, sowing wheat and oats as cover crops and green manure, the field feeding of corn and peas, deep horizontal plowing, and shallow cultivation. Systematic subsoiling of a fourth of his fields annually was an innovation, derived, probably, from the antebellum agriculturalists of the Upper South.

Dickson's postbellum field management was new, and in some respects original. When he first resorted to tenancy he did not place the tenants on individual farms and leave them unsupervised. He retained the "direction of cultivation while leaving to them and paid workers the execution of the work." In April, 1868 his tenants worked in "companies of from six to ten," cultivating land and as a group receiving a share of the crops produced on it. Apparently, each "company" was semi-cooperative, distributing by agreement among its members the proceeds of its crop shares after harvest. Dickson employed no overseer, but personally prescribed the mode of cultivation and the crops to be raised. After that each company worked "about" as it pleased. After 1870 he retained some "companies," but divided his fields largely into the many little tenant farms that had become characteristic of the Cotton Belt. Although his Georgia properties were large, Dickson rode the fields each morning, exhibiting his interest in the work, and by his presence and reminders holding the tenants and "companies" to the prescribed program.²¹

Dickson's share system was unique. In 1870 he took a third of all crops as rent and another third as compensation for supplying implements, draft animals, machinery, seed, and fertilizer. The other third went to the tenant (who had to provide his own hoe and axe) in payment for his labor. Of this he reserved a third as disaster insurance while paying the remainder as share-wages that were usually spent for supplies in his plantation stores. These were sold at prices sufficient to cover risks and interest on invested funds, but he

did not gouge his tenants with heavy mark-ups. When hired workers were idle he believed they should reimburse him two-thirds of their daily wage.²² Although his accounting sense, bookkeeping, and profit drive thus survived the defeat of the Confederacy unimpaired, the latter was restrained by respect for his workers and appreciation of the relation between their good treatment and their productivity. His share system obviously minimized risks.

Intensive cultivation and the tenants' and paid workers' skill and high morale yielded large crops per acre and high returns to Dickson and his working force. He again trained tenants and workers to "be experts." They remained with him year after year, appreciative of high earnings, diversified foods obtainable at reasonable prices, and a high living standard. They were proud of the superior equipment and draft animals that he supplied, of their high production, and of the fame of the Dickson plantations. Apparently Dickson did not take crop liens as security for the share-wages he paid, thinking that the reserved third of the tenants' share sufficed as insurance. This provided an inducement to them to remain with him until settling time after harvest, when fair treatment provided an incentive to remain voluntarily for another year. He did not require that a prospective tenant present a certificate of discharge attesting to good character, etc., from his previous landlord, such as the *Southern Cultivator* recommended.²³ There appears to have been no peonage or indirect servitude in the Dickson system. Like Henry Ford's, his was a high-wage policy resting upon superior science, improved technology, hard work, and appreciation of the relation of worker satisfaction and pride in fine work to production.

²¹ *Cincinnati Commercial*, April 11, 1868, reprinted in *Southern Cultivator*, 27 (February, 1869), and in Brooks, *Agrarian Revolution in Georgia*; Interview with Cheeley; Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 87, 97, 167, 241.

²² *Ibid.*, 87.

²³ *Southern Cultivator*, 29:141 (April, 1871); Interviews with Gilmore and Cheeley.

Continued emphasis upon the latest agricultural literature still featured Dickson's "system." He studied incessantly, experimented, and reported results in the journals. He advocated that the humus in the soil be maintained at the level of virgin soil, upon erosion prevention, on crop rotation, and that manures be produced and saved systematically and used together with a guano fertilizer. He related field practice, *i.e.*, corn and field peas planting, feeding, and plowing in, to theory. He urged re-investment of profits from a specific farm operation in another that would enhance profits further. He stressed the beneficial results of proper mathematical spacing of crops. Through experimentation he tested his "Compound" and revised its formula accordingly. He urged that others experiment also. He utilized the newest "machines," *viz.*, the Dow Law Cotton Planter, guano distributor, and pea dropper. Scientific observation and experiment enabled him to develop improved methods for the use of such traditional tools and implements as the hoe and axe.²⁴ He insisted that cotton, properly cultivated with well-trained and directed colored labor, was the most profitable crop for the Lower South.

Finally, while seeking a return to constitutional government in the South, he opposed soliciting investment capital from the North because it entailed extra-regional control of the economy. Instead, he urged, as he had before 1861, that proper investment of profits by successful planters could and should provide \$15,000,000 annually for the development of Southern industry and railroads.²⁵ His program was to rebuild the South by diversified investment and regional entrepreneurial leadership in a manner that would ensure control of the economy by enlightened, practical agricultural leadership.

Dickson's postbellum influence upon agriculture must now be analyzed. His decisive role in the guano campaign has been described. Letters from other planters to the *Southern Cultivator* expressed "heartly approval" of his arguments against in-

duced immigration. Other contributors reported successful adoption of his "System of Farming," *viz.*, Charles A. Peabody who reported in 1868 the bale per acre resulting from his resort to Dickson's methods of soil preparation, fertilizing, cultivation, and seed. In West Tennessee another disciple produced a 200 per cent increase in cotton yield and 35 bushels of corn per acre. Louisianans sought to purchase the "Dickson Sweep." They farmed with the Dickson method with surprising results. Dickson's planter neighbors in Hancock County supported his guano campaign warmly. The *Southern Cultivator* published the results of successive field tests employing the Dickson "system," and of the now numerous competing guano fertilizers. In these the "Compound" ranked high in yield and profitability but not at the top.²⁶

Such leadership rallied enlightened planters to scientific agriculture and made many converts. In January, 1868, J. Dickson Smith of Houston County, Georgia, declared that "a general revolution in Southern Agriculture" was in process, stimulated by

the wonderful productions of Mr. Dickson and his co-laborers. . . . The argument of actual results is unanswerable. . . . The scientific researches of Dickson, Pendleton, *et al.*, have not fallen fruitless to the ground. . . . They have opened up a new field of thought and action, exposed many practical errors, and greatly brightened our Southern agricultural horizon. The future history of Southern agriculture will record the name of David Dickson as the author of this revolution. . . . Taking a common sense view of agriculture, as he does in every department of life, . . . His experiments have demonstrated facts and principles which have thrown new light upon the whole subject of agriculture. The correctness of these principles he has

²⁴ *Southern Cultivator*, 27:3, 33-44 (January, 1869); Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 33-44, 86-88, 89-91, 154-156, 160-161, 180-181, 161, 180-181.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 92-93, 171-177; *Southern Cultivator*, 28:9 (January, 1870) for the enthusiastic approval of Samuel Williams of Waterloo.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 27: *passim* (January, August, December, 1869); 28:16-11 (January, 1870); 29:21, 27, 43 (January, February, 1871).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 27:53 (February, 1869).

demonstrated by actual results on his own farm. . . . He stands as the beacon light, the chosen head and front of the agriculturalists of Georgia."²⁷

The appearance, the next year, of Dickson's *A Practical Treatise of Agriculture*, edited by Smith, completed the former's technical and practical contributions to the agricultural revival. It confirmed his position as its leader and chief inspirer. It contained a brief biography of him, a succinct presentation of his system, many of his letters to farm journals, 50 pages of M. Georges Villé's lectures on agricultural chemistry, and a "Résumé of Agriculture" containing Dickson's pithy maxims. These combined practical directions for cultivation with general principles, and asserted his primacy in the use of guano, its efficacy, and the superiority of his methods, sweep, seed, and "Compound." For example, "The three great cardinal points in the Dickson System of Farming are deep preparation, thorough manuring, and surface culture." "ALWAY COME TO TIME."²⁸ Thus he produced, with Smith's help, the handbook of the agricultural revival in the Deep South during Reconstruction.

Earlier, in January, 1869, the *Southern Cultivator* had reprinted many of Dickson's recent letters on farming. That same month it had noted the activity of the press in "impressing upon our people the necessity of improved methods of husbandry" and the "evidence of a widespread awakening spirit among our farmers." Soon the example of the Hancock County Fair was imitated by the Putnam County Fair, the Rome Fair, and others at Opelika, Alabama, and Columbia, South Carolina. The *Cultivator* propagated every phase of Dickson's gospel of agricultural improvement during 1868-1873. It endorsed his warning against excessive concentration upon cotton and his advocacy of crop diversification to minimize risks, increase self-sufficiency, and diminish indebtedness. It encouraged young farmers to adopt his "System." It endorsed intensive cultivation and "the general use of improved implements" such as the "large sweep." Even an advocate of induced immigration acknowledged that

Dickson's system of management of his tenants had a positive effect upon their morale and loyalty. He predicted that a general adoption of it would restore the planter class to control in a "counter-revolution" and re-institute "diversity of condition and distinction of class based upon a landed proprietorship" as "the light and life of society."²⁹

Thus, the socially ostracized leader of the agricultural revival became the symbol of the method whereby the ruined planter class might restore its erstwhile prosperity and regain its former power. Janus-like, Dickson appeared to contemporaries as a "conservative" leader seeking to reestablish the antebellum social order while at the same time looking to the future as the creator of a scientific, enlightened, and prosperous system of agriculture. His "System" became "the fundamental basis of successful farming in the South," according to the editors of the *Southern Cultivator* in the second twentieth century revised edition of his book.³⁰

Between 1865 and 1885, in other fields of enterprise, Dickson practiced his policy of planter capital investment. He purchased railroad stocks, bank stocks, municipal and state bonds. He invested heavily in mortgages, and loaned money to many planters and farmers. He financed his own ventures in fertilizer manufacture and marketing, implement manufacturing, and seed selling. Thus he became an important enterpriser and a financier in business and transportation areas auxiliary to agriculture. As the region's leading planter and scientific farmer, a non-agricultural investor, and a significant business enterpriser

²⁷ Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, 207-232 ("Résumé"), *passim*.

²⁸ *Southern Cultivator*, 27:29 (January, 1869); 27: *passim* (December, 1869); 28:28, 32, 60, 99, 105 (January, February, April, 1870); 29:43, 92-99, 129, 137, 139, 144, 156-157 (February, March, May, July, 1871); Dickson, *A Practical Treatise on Agriculture*, *passim*. Not all experimenters with Dickson's "system" made money with it the first year.

²⁹ G. F. Hunnicutt, ed., *David Dickson's and James M. Smith's Farming* (Atlanta, 1910), 13.

he emerged as early as 1870 as the prophet and prototype of a "New South." His career foreshadowed much of the economic-political regime that would rule the region for decades after the expulsion of the carpetbaggers.²¹

²¹ The "New Departure" that followed the overthrow of the Radicals in Georgia, however, was dominated by railroad and urban business interests rather than by successful agriculturalists, as Dickson's capital investment program implied that the urban-industrial economy should be. Because of its retrospective implications, Dickson's will in 1885 casts important light upon his non-agricultural investment and financing program, but it does not illumine his early activity in fertilizer and implement manufacture nor his seed business which, apparently, had been liquidated earlier. The will

discloses that he owned 15,440 acres in Hancock County and 550 acres in Washington County, Georgia. His estate included bonds in the Central of Georgia, Western Atlanta, Charel [Columbia], Augusta railroads, bonds of Hancock County, Macon, Augusta, Atlanta, and the State of Georgia, stock in the National Exchange and Commercial banks of Augusta, a hundred notes, many mortgages, \$10,000 in certificates of deposit, nearly \$12,000 in cash. The estate in Hancock County was appraised at \$281,543.99, in Washington County, \$27,500. His Rush County, Texas, lands of some 10,000 acres were not appraised in the will probated at Sparta. After some small bequests to friends and provisions for his mulatto sons, Dickson left the bulk of his Hancock County estate to his mistress, Amanda A. Dickson. Thomas J. Warthen received the Washington County lands. "Will, David Dickson," Record of Wills, Hancock County Ordinary, 1:248-252, Book of Division, U., 52-72; *ibid.*

ADVICE TO FARMERS ON BATHING IN 1858

Once a week is often enough for a decent white man to wash himself all over; and whether in summer or winter, that ought to be done with soap, warm water, and a hog's hair brush, in a room showing at least 70° Fahrenheit. Baths should be taken early in the morning, for it is then that the system possesses the power of reaction in the highest degree. No man or woman should take a bath at the close of the day, unless by the advice of the family physician.—*The Valley Farmer*, Vol. 10, p. 32, January, 1858.

OVERLAND HOG DRIVES

Drives of hogs overland to slaughtering plants were common in the American middle west during the 19th century. Distances covered in a day averaged six to eight miles. Drives sometimes were strung out for a mile or more, with drovers all along the line keeping the animals from straying. Overnight stops were usually made at farmhouses, where corrals had been previously built to enclose the herds. Average pay for a hog driver was one dollar per day, board and lodging furnished.—*Wallace's Farmer*, October 12, 1928.

Thomas Affleck: Missionary to the Planter, the Farmer, and the Gardener

ROBERT W. WILLIAMS

Twenty years before the creation of the United States Department of Agriculture and three decades before the establishment of the first agricultural experiment station, Thomas Affleck of Washington, Mississippi, assembled, collated, and presented to the farming public what was among the best and most advanced practices of his day. The letters and the published works of this much-neglected figure of American agricultural history cover a variety of subjects, from the layout of a kitchen garden to the management of an entire plantation; from the care of house cats to the need for the development of Southern industry. Many of his projects and enthusiasms extended over a period of several years. He became a leading expert in a number of fields and one of the outstanding publicists of agricultural improvement in the Southwest. The content of his articles, letters, and publications and the fact that his opinions were well received marked him as one of the movement's most effective advocates.¹

Affleck was born in Dumfries, Scotland, in 1812, the son of a general merchant and importer. He came to America in 1832, spent eight years in New York, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio employed as clerk, merchant, and small-scale nurseryman before he accepted a position as associate editor of the *Western Farmer and Gardener* of Cincinnati in 1840.² From the beginning of his association with the *Western Farmer and Gardener*, and particularly after he became sole editor in 1841, he widened the scope of the magazine to include such departments as livestock, bee breeding, horticulture, and viticulture, as well as the usual columns devoted to staple farming. He advocated agricultural societies, agricultural colleges, and horticultural groups. He pointed out the evils of a one-crop economy to both the West and the South. He expressed his ideas of what constituted

an ideal farm—a place to provide year-to-year security, a place of beauty and satisfaction, as well as a source of profit.³

Livestock became known as Affleck's chief interest and competence, and he took advantage of his reputation to extol the virtues of several animal breeds. Partly in the hope of making a profit from the artificially created demand for these animals, he gathered together a herd of selected stock in 1841 for a trip to the South. With an eye directed toward both reader-appeal and profit, he intended to tap the vast store of interest being generated in the lower South. Agricultural societies encouraged improved breeding, while the more scientifically advanced planters and farmers banded together to import prize specimens of cattle, sheep, and hogs.⁴ With these favorable signs and despite the known pref-

¹ James T. Adams and R. V. Coleman, eds., *Dictionary of American History* (6 vols., New York, 1948), 1:25, 26.

² Information on Affleck's early life is found in an account kept by one of the present Affleck family on a trip to Scotland in 1935. This account and all other manuscript material cited herein, unless otherwise indicated, is in the Affleck Papers, Louisiana State University, Department of Manuscripts and Archives, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The early life of Affleck is treated in detail in Fred C. Cole, "The Early Life of Thomas Affleck," Master's thesis, Louisiana State University, 1936. See also: Thomas Affleck to Andrew Hannay, July 23, 1832; Affleck to John Graham, August 16, 1832; Diary of Affleck, 1832, *passim*.

³ *Western Farmer and Gardener*, 2: *passim* (1840-41).

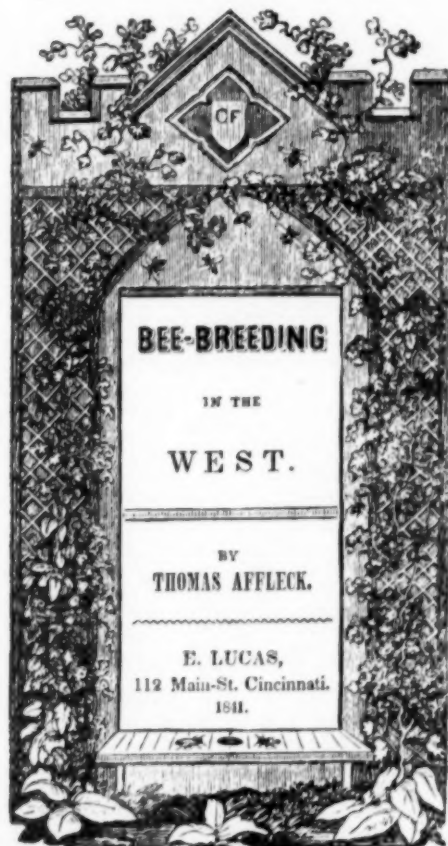
⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:78-85 (1842); Charles T. Leavitt, "Attempts to Improve Cattle Breeds in the United States, 1790-1860," *Agricultural History*, 7:51-67 (April, 1933); Thomas D. Clark, "Livestock Trade Between Kentucky and the South, 1840-1860," *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society*, 27:569-581 (September, 1929). *Agriculture in the United States in 1860: Compiled from the Original Returns of the Eighth Census, Under the Direction of the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington, 1864), 112.

erence of many Southern farmers for their own scrub animals,⁵ he set forth to "stir up and nourish a taste for the improvement of the common stock." He intended also to report on the "much belied" Southern plantation economy and to make new friends for his journal.⁶ At Vicksburg, his first stop, he sold a part of his stock and then went on to Natchez and Washington, Mississippi, to attend the annual fair of the Agricultural, Horticultural, and Botanical Society of Jefferson College.⁷ After the fair he traveled and retraveled the water and land routes between Natchez, Baton Rouge, Vicksburg, and Jackson, and made a short visit to New Orleans. Not

until February of 1842 did he return to Cincinnati, and then only to terminate his affairs so that he might make a permanent removal to the South.⁸

During his stay in the Natchez area, he met and married a young widow he supposed to be a wealthy landholder, but after his removal to Mississippi he found that her properties, though extensive, were heavily encumbered by debt. Bad growing seasons, low prices, and debts reduced further the holdings he had hoped to operate and forced him to turn from large-scale cotton planting to commercial nursery operations, writing, publishing, and promoting. None of these endeavors was financially profitable, but in each field he rendered a worth-while service to the farming community of the Southwest.

The financial accounts of Affleck's plantation operations indicted him as a failure, and the court records of Adams County strengthened the charge, as they



Elaborately designed title page from one of Affleck's agricultural manuals.

⁵ *Western Farmer and Gardener*, 3:78-85 (1842); *Southern Cultivator*, 1:127 (1843), 2:183 (1844), 3:121 (1845); *Southern Agriculturist*, n.s. 2:521 (1842); *DeBow's Review*, 3:2 (1847). This was only one phase of the considerable prejudice against experimental farming and stock-breeding during this period. It was often cited that agricultural leaders were poor farmers. *Farmers Register*, 2:17 (1834); Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 vols., Washington, 1933), 789.

⁶ *Western Farmer and Gardener*, 3:78-85 (1842). It was a common practice for editors to travel and to report their trips for the pages of their journals. Sometimes they served as agents for their magazines and for seed houses, or implement manufacturers. Southern editors and reporters traveling in the North often carried commissions to purchase machinery and stock for their readers and neighbors. Albert L. Demaree, *American Agricultural Press, 1819-1861* (New York, 1941), 106-107.

⁷ *Western Farmer and Gardener*, 3:78-85 (1842). See also Charles B. Sydnor, *A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region*, Benjamin L. C. Waller (Durham, 1938), 80, 152. There was a great deal of local pride in Jefferson College which had been incorporated by the legislature of the Mississippi Territory on May 13, 1802. J. K. Morrison, "Early History of Jefferson College," *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, 2:179-188 (1899).

⁸ See letters exchanged between Affleck and Anna M. Smith in the months of February and March, 1842.

traced the gradual loss of the property intrusted to his management. But if he was an unsuccessful cotton planter, so were many others in the difficult years of the 1840's, and most of them were marked for oblivion. Affleck, however, whose arrival in Mississippi was almost coincidental with the spread to the Southwest of the movement for agricultural improvement, shares the credit for the dissemination of advanced agricultural methods with men like Noah B. Cloud, Martin W. Philips, and Solon Robinson.

As publisher, editor and voluminous letter-writer, he became a missionary to the planter and the farmer. In his published articles and in private correspondence he answered the questions of his fellow farmers. The increasing number of correspondents who sought his advice and the thousands who read his comments and suggestions did not condemn him as a failure on the strength of evidence presented in terms of mere dollars and cents.

Affleck became agricultural editor of the *New Orleans Weekly Picayune* in January of 1851.⁹ The columns that he wrote for the *Picayune* were well received throughout the lower South. The advice he gave in answer to queries was usually good, resulting as it did from wide reading, experimentation, and a clear insight into Southern problems. The wealth of information that he imparted was of greater value since it was written in clear, concise language which reminded one reader "more . . . of Cato than any that I ever read."¹⁰ Affleck did not strive for originality. He adopted the view that agricultural writers should avoid "wasting their time & labor in endeavoring to discover what others already know."¹¹

He considered it a service to pass on information of use to southern farmers gathered from sources that they would not ordinarily see. He thought it the duty of every farmer to subscribe to it least two agricultural publications and pay their fees promptly, but he did not expect them to be able to read and evaluate all of the available material.¹² This he accepted as his responsibility.¹³ To this end, he owned

what was probably one of the largest agricultural libraries in the Southwest, including full files of all the major agricultural and horticultural journals printed in the United States and a great many of the leading English and European works.¹⁴ He frequently ordered books from New York, Cincinnati, England, and the Continent.¹⁵ He tried to obtain the latest pronouncements, as well as the standard works, on agriculture, horticulture, and the natural sciences.¹⁶ Upon accepting his appointment at the *Picayune*, he requested that the editor arrange exchange subscriptions so that he might have ten American and six English magazines in addition to those he regularly received. He thought that this was essential to enable him to "keep up with the times [and] to do the department justice."¹⁷

⁹ Affleck to A. M. Holbrook, January 6, 1851.

¹⁰ Robert Russell, *North America: Its Agriculture and Climate* (Edinburgh, 1857), 254. Russell, in touring the South, had made inquiries for Affleck but met him by chance in the lobby of the St. Charles Hotel in New Orleans. Russell was pleased to find that Affleck was a Scotsman. He wrote that "of all the parties to whom I had introduction in the United States, no one, somehow or other, did I consider I had so great a claim to attention as upon the one whom I had so unexpectedly met."

¹¹ Affleck to Eli J. Capell, February 6, 1851, in Eli J. Capell Papers, Louisiana State University, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

¹² *Prairie Farmer*, 4:106-107 (1846); Affleck to B. M. Norman, January 6, 1851.

¹³ Affleck to B. M. Norman, January 18, 1851.

¹⁴ List of books and magazines owned by Affleck in Memorandum Books 1852-53; Affleck to A. Hart, publisher, May 10, 1851; Affleck to Mr. Warner, January 19, 1854; Affleck to D. Redmond, July 16, 1854; Affleck to Gales and Seaton, March 1, 1856.

¹⁵ Affleck to B. M. Norman, January 18, 1851. Affleck had great respect for the opinions of the Scotch on gardening and the English on the subject of evergreens, grasses, and ornamental shrubs. Affleck to D. Redmond, February 9, 1854; January 14, 1854; Affleck to J. C. Morgan, May 28, 1851.

¹⁶ Affleck to A. M. Holbrook, January 16, 1851; Affleck to F. D. Gay, May 13, 1851; Affleck to Morton and Griswold, March 10, 1854.

¹⁷ Affleck to A. M. Holbrook, January 16, 1851.

Not only did he rely on books and periodicals, but he made constant use of the material that came to him in letters. Correspondence with experts in several different fields gave his columns an encyclopedic character. He published excerpts from letters of specialists and ordinary farmers who wrote to him telling of their experiences and their discoveries.¹⁸ He often sent out letters specifically to elicit information for his column, sometimes circularizing a part of the farm population on crops, methods, implements, and other rural matters. He tried, without success, to get the editor of the *Picayune* to bear a part of the expense of sending out 33 questionnaires on Southern agriculture. He argued that in addition to furnishing him information it would increase circulation, since those who stated opinions would be interested to see the consensus report.¹⁹

He encouraged his readers and his correspondents to experiment and to report their findings to him for evaluation, collation with his own knowledge and experimentation, and finally for publication, so that useful conclusions might be put to wider use.²⁰ In his column, he often noted new books that he received from the publisher, and was particularly pleased to recommend those which were pertinent to reforms that were needed in southern rural life.²¹ By a variety of methods, Affleck was able to assemble and present advanced advice and counsel. In the 1850's, he advocated many practices and procedures of good farming through his weekly column that would receive the approval of present-day county agents and state experiment station personnel.

Affleck offered diversification as a sound practice for the plantation and the South and was willing to frame his recommendations in detail. He encouraged experimentation with crops that might supplement cotton. He admitted that many new ventures might not pay any better than cotton at first and that experimentation was costly. He advocated government subsidies for crop research, but in the absence of

such support, he performed a great service by publishing the results of his own experiments and by giving publicity to the findings of others. He tried to convince his neighbors that much of the energy that they spent cultivating cotton could be better employed in raising livestock, developing new crops, finding new uses for old crops, and providing more of the food-stuffs required on the plantation.²²

Affleck felt a moral obligation to posterity, as well as an economic compulsion to preserve the land and did much of his most effective work in the field of conservation. To prevent erosion, he advocated contour plowing. To restore plant food to the soil, he suggested measures which were in accord with the most advanced principles of agricultural chemistry, including systematized rotation and the liberal use of both natural and commercial fertilizers. He was similarly interested in saving each year's crop from its natural enemies, disease and insects. He approached the problem in the same manner that is now

¹⁸ See, for example, his writings in the *New Orleans Weekly Picayune* during 1850-1851. He also wrote articles on a fairly regular basis for the *New Orleans Commercial Times* during 1846, and on an occasional basis after that period.

¹⁹ Affleck to A. M. Holbrook, May 13, 1851. Affleck had sent out circular letters before but decided that he could no longer bear the expense alone.

²⁰ *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, April 24, 1850. During a few months of 1850 and sporadically before that time Affleck had contributed articles on a volunteer basis. He hinted to the editor that some remuneration might be in order for this volunteer work before he was put on the regular payroll but there is no indication that he ever received any money for these services.

²¹ Affleck to A. Hart, May 10, 1851. Affleck, in acknowledging Kingsford's work on plank roads, told the publisher that he would give it a prominent and favorable notice even though there was no new material in the book that had not already been published in agricultural journals because it would "serve my purpose well in stirring up my neighbors on the subject."

²² *American Agriculturist*, 3:28-31 (1845); *Norman's Southern Rural Almanac* (New Orleans, 1847), 21.

AFFLECK'S
SOUTHERN RURAL ALMANAC,
 AND
 PLANTATION AND GARDEN
CALENDAR,
 FOR
1852;
 BEING LEAP YEAR;

AND UNTIL THE FOURTH OF JULY, THE SEVENTY-SIXTH YEAR OF THE
 INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.



BY THOMAS AFFLECK,
 WASHINGTON,
 ADAMS COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI.

[ENTERED, ACCORDING TO ACT OF CONGRESS, AUGUST, 1851,
 BY THOMAS AFFLECK,
 In the Clerk's Office of the District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi.]

PUBLISHED
 AT THE OFFICE OF THE "FICAYUNE,"
 NEW ORLEANS.

**Affleck's Almanacs Enjoyed a Wide Circulation
 Throughout the Old South**

deemed essential by professional entomologists.²³

Affleck was outstanding as a nurseryman and counselor to the gardener. There were no large nurseries available in the lower South in the 1840's and the excessive cost and uncertainties of transportation discouraged purchases from the north. The plants that Southerners did order often proved to be unsuitable for Southern growing conditions. Most of the Southern population was suspicious of Northern nurserymen because of repeated failures with Northern stock. Affleck offered both information and stock adapted for Southern use.

His services were generally accepted without prejudice since he was known to be a Southerner devoted to the interest of his section. He introduced many kinds of evergreens, shade trees, flowers, and hedges that added beauty to the Southern scene and several types of fruit trees that added variety to the Southern diet. He made costly importations from England and the Continent and spent years acclimating plants to the Southern soil and climate. Since most Southerners lacked any appreciation or knowledge of horticulture and since there were few treatises or journals dealing with Southern conditions, Affleck found it necessary, not only to ready stock for sale, but also to acquaint the public with the names and uses of the varieties and the proper methods of selection and cultivation.²⁴

By 1850, Affleck had gained national reputation and stature as an expert consultant on agricultural and horticultural matters. He was sought as a speaker and for committee work by organizations devoted to advancement in both fields. He earned the gratitude and respect of farmers in all of the Southern states and in other parts of the Union; his advice was con-

²³ Affleck to President of the General Society of Agriculture of France, undated; Undated manuscript in the Affleck Collection entitled "On the Southern Cow-pen"; *American Agriculturist*, 2: 17 (1843); 3:181-82 (1844); *Affleck's Rural Almanac and Plantation and Garden Calendar, 1851*, 6, 41-44; 1853, 3. This will hereinafter be cited as *Almanac*. Affleck to B. M. Norman, May 1, 1851; Edmund Ruffin to Affleck, July 10, 1844; John Pitkin Norton to Affleck, September 29, 1845; Affleck to Noah B. Cloud, March 4, 1853; *Southern Agriculturist*, 8:47 (1834); Affleck to Editor, *New Orleans Commercial Times*, October 2, 1847. See also Affleck's extensive correspondence with Thaddeus W. Harris of Harvard University, Lewis W. Harper, entomologist of Savannah, Georgia, and Professor Nicholas Hentz of the University of North Carolina during the 1840's.

²⁴ *Almanac*, 1852, 91-108, 1855, 47; Affleck to E. Zwilchenbart and Company, March 13, 1851; Affleck to William Skirving, March 13, 1851; Affleck to Edward Bossange, November 27, 1842; *Natchez Daily Courier*, October 28, 1854; Affleck to Thomas Rivers, September 14, 1852; *Southern Cultivator*, 10:42 (1853).

stantly sought on a great variety of agricultural and sectional problems. Almost every mail brought a flood of questions which Affleck considered carefully and answered courteously, adding to his long list of friends, widening his influence and his opportunity to serve further those who made their living from the soil.

Thomas Affleck claimed to be the originator of a new type of almanac different from the "comic absurdities" that flooded the market before he issued the 1842 *Western Farmer and Gardener Almanac*.²⁵ In 1846, he began to edit an annual series of almanacs published by B. M. Norman called *Norman's Southern Agricultural Almanac*.²⁶ In 1851, the name was changed to *Affleck's Southern Rural Almanac and Plantation and Garden Calendar*.²⁷ A primary purpose of the later publications was to advertise Affleck's Southern Nursery but its usefulness transcended its service as a catalogue of trees and plants. The farmers of the Southwest adopted it as a guide to both new and accepted practice.²⁸

The *Almanac* presented charts and calendars to serve as guides for planting, cultivating, and gathering crops and furnished tables of standard weights and measures. There were rules for land conservation, restoring plant food to the soil, and combating insect pests, plant diseases, and weeds. Long and authoritative articles on the proper care of orchards, flowers, vegetables, and ornamental shrubs constituted a most valued section of the *Almanac* and was intended to mesh with Affleck's efforts to stimulate sales for his own nursery. Seldom did he overlook a chance to air his view that trees and plants, to be grown successfully, should be carefully acclimated to the South. There was usually the suggestion that this valuable process was best accomplished at his own Southern Nurseries. The work that should be accomplished in each month was set down under the heading of cotton plantation, sugar plantation, kitchen garden, plantation garden, flower garden and shrubbery, fruit garden, and orchard.²⁹

The publication of the *Affleck Plantation Journal and Account Books* for cotton and sugar growers was a result of Affleck's experience as a cotton planter. Upon arrival in Mississippi, he found that it was necessary because of the locations of the plantations he controlled, to rely on overseers. The overseers in his employ were "ignorant of everything like accounts & in fact, system of any kind." Since they "could not be relied upon to draw up their report after their own fashion," Affleck indicated by blank forms the type of information that he required. B. M. Norman, while visiting in Adams County, saw the forms and suggested that they might be published. Affleck adopted Norman's suggestion and prepared for publication record books designed for cotton and sugar plantations of varying size. The first editions published by Norman in 1847 sold well without too much effort on the part of the

²⁵ *Norman's Southern Agricultural Almanac*, unnumbered first page of introduction. Although Affleck was proud of the 1842 edition of the *Western Farmer and Gardener Almanac*, he expressly denied any responsibility for the 1843 edition which listed his old partner, Charles Foster, as editor. See first page of the preface of the 1843 edition of this work.

²⁶ B. M. Norman was a prominent and influential publisher and book dealer of New Orleans.

²⁷ A copy of the 1851 copyright is in the Affleck Papers.

²⁸ The few short-lived magazines of the section had a small circulation and little lasting influence. The *Southwestern Farmer*, of Raymond, Mississippi (1842-1845), and the *Southern Planter of Natchez*, Mississippi, which lasted for only one year (1842), were typical of the Southwestern agricultural press. Demaree in his *American Agricultural Press* lists no important agricultural magazine generally circulated in the Southwest and Frank L. Mott makes no mention of any such magazine in his *History of American Magazines* (New York, 1930). Planters like Eli J. Capell and M. W. Philips, and publishers like J. D. B. De Bow and B. M. Norman recognized the need for a strong agricultural journal in the Southwest and tried without success to establish one. Eli Capell to Affleck, November 15, 1846; *De Bow's Review*, 5:82-86 (1848); Affleck to B. M. Norman, January 18, 1851.

²⁹ The above brief outline is merely a summary of the material in all of the *Almanacs* from 1847 to 1860.

publisher.³⁰ Affleck's nursery affairs and various other considerations prevented a revised edition the year following, but in subsequent years until 1860, Affleck published and sold copies of these books introducing them into every state of the South.³¹ Yearly revisions incorporated some suggestions from overseers and planters, but most of the changes were not radical.³²

The *Plantation Record Books* brought together in one place several of the miscellaneous records usually kept by Southern staple producers. The record of daily events, slave lists, and stock and implement inventories were included, but so also were a number of other forms which marked an improvement in the system of rural book-keeping.³³ The record forms were essentially consistent with the intent and purpose of modern cost-accounting, and followed the best and most advanced principles of efficient administrative management.³⁴ The record books considered the often neglected factors of capital depreciation, labor costs, and social welfare.

Perhaps because of publication troubles he experienced with the *Almanac* and the *Plantation Record and Account Books*, Affleck was never able to bring to completion some other projected works. Five years before he began to write a column for the *Picayune*, Eli J. Capell, a greatly respected Mississippi planter, suggested that he join with Dr. Martin W. Philips to edit a journal for farmers in Mississippi. Capell believed that it would be well-received since there were enough farmers in the state to support it and enough advanced agriculturists to provide material for its pages.³⁵ Affleck, who had always expressed a reluctance to invest money in such a venture, did not consider the prospect seriously.³⁶ His success as an agricultural columnist brought other proposals. James D. B. De Bow suggested that Affleck join him in the publication of a weekly agricultural magazine.³⁷ In 1848, Affleck had suggested to De Bow the need for a monthly journal of agriculture published in the Southwest to "help dispel ignorance and prejudice against theorizing and book-

farming."³⁸ In 1850, he had decided to publish a magazine to be called the *Southern Rural Magazine* which was to be issued bi-monthly in numbers of 80 pages. Affleck proposed an agreement with a publishing company in which they were to assume all "duties and incur risks and liabilities of publishers." Affleck was to perform all the duties of editor. The net profits were to be divided at the close of each volume.³⁹ It was still his opinion in 1851 that "we must have a monthly journal of agriculture, either connected with the review, forming a part of it, or as a separate work." Affleck was opposed to a weekly journal, however, and still was unwilling to assume any part in such an enterprise except as an editor

³⁰ Affleck to Secretary of Executive Committee of the Southern Central Agricultural Society of Georgia, May 24, 1851. The types of books published for cotton plantations were: Number 1 for 40 hands or less at \$2.50; Number 2 for 80 hands or less at \$3.00; and Number 3 for 120 hands or less at \$3.50. In 1860 he published a Number 4 book for over 120 hands. *Almanac*, 1860, 3. For sugar planters there was a Number 1 book for 80 hands at \$3.00 and a Number 2 book for 120 hands at \$3.50. Affleck to George Heroman, April 21, 1851. The forms were different for the sugar books. There were spaces for such entries as "strength of juice" and "quantity of lime used in each strike." Provision was made to record the number of hogsheds made each day and the number of cords of wood used, and the inventories of sugar house machinery, tools, and equipment. Affleck intended to compile an account book for non-staple farming but never found time to complete such a work. Affleck to B. M. Norman, June 6, 1851.

³¹ Affleck to B. M. Norman, October 16, 1852; *American Agriculturist*, 6:346 (1847).

³² *Almanac*, 1853, 72-73; Affleck to Governor J. H. Hammond, January 3, 1855.

³³ Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 543; *Farmer's Register*, 4: 725-27 (1836).

³⁴ John L. Stone, "A Simple System of Common Farm Accounting," *Cyclopedia of American Agriculture*, 4:216-232; J. S. Hall, "Farm Inventories," U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Farmer's Bulletin* (1920), 1182.

³⁵ Eli J. Capell to Affleck, November 18, 1851.

³⁶ Affleck to B. M. Norman, January 18, 1851.

³⁷ Affleck to James D. B. De Bow, January 23, 1851.

³⁸ *De Bow's Review*, 5:82-86 (1848).

³⁹ Proposed Agreement with Weld and Company by Thomas Affleck, June 5, 1850.

on salary. "If I edite [*sic*] a work of this kind," he declared, "I must be reasonably well paid and paid surely and regularly."⁴⁰

In the same year that he began his services as agricultural editor of the *Picayune*, he was engaged with a "somewhat elaborate work on cotton-planting." In this work he would treat the "entire cotton plantation from the cutting of the first stump to the shipping of the Bale."⁴¹ He hoped also by the winter of that year to publish a "large book on Southern gardening—Fruit flowers and Vegetables—which will be very saleable if well canvassed."⁴² In 1852, he felt compelled "to defer until next summer," his work on the garden.⁴³ By fall of 1856, he was "copying off for the press, my little volume on the Garden" and hoped to have it ready "in three or four weeks." He estimated that it would be about 300 pages in length and would sell for \$1.⁴⁴ There are present in the Affleck Collection some undated manuscripts which are very likely chapter drafts of Affleck's two projected works, but none of this material was ever published in book form.⁴⁵

Affleck sought ways to combine his own interest with that of the farming community and, at times when he needed cash badly, he was less likely to consider the needs of his fellow farmers than he was the possibility for ready profit. He was keenly conscious of the advantage of his position as a recognized agricultural consultant. He appreciated the power of publicity, the attraction of novelty, and the infallibility often attached to the printed word. Affleck accepted the salary of "something over \$1000 per annum" as agricultural editor of the *Picayune*, even though it was less than he had asked, "as it serves my purpose well, to do so."⁴⁶ He knew that the position would increase his stature as an agricultural expert. He intended to call attention to his nursery and his publications through the *Picayune* columns, to promote occasionally some item in which he was financially interested, to give favorable notices to various products in return for direct compensation, or as a friendly ges-

ture toward a friend or business associate. "As agric: Ed: of the *Picayune*," he told a pecan grower seeking an agent in the Southwest, "I have much in my power in the way of aiding a cause of this kind."⁴⁷

In his search for profit, he followed a number of courses. He publicized and sold what belonged to him, he promoted the interests of others for a direct compensation or on a commission basis, and he acted as an agent for a variety of products, ranging from sewing machines to life insurance. Through his regular columns in the *New Orleans Weekly Picayune*, his articles contributed to the *New Orleans Commercial Times*, his articles contributed elsewhere, and through the pages of the *Southern Rural Almanac*, he often recommended plants, livestock, and products in which he had a pecuniary interest. He praised slate roofs in the hope of receiving such a roof for his own house at a reduced price. He was willing to make favorable notice of a printing press, provided the manufacturer purchase advertising space in his *Almanac*. He would use whatever language the manufacturer wanted if the proposed notice were drafted so as not to resemble too closely an advertisement. "Everything of the kind that I do, must be done cautiously & prudently," he warned, "else the columns of the *Pic*: might be closed to any notices at all."⁴⁸

Affleck was willing to create a market for a product but he was also glad to benefit from a demand already existing. By the 1850's, most farmers were convinced of the beneficial effects of some type of fertilizer, and many were willing to experiment with

⁴⁰ Affleck to James D. B. De Bow, June 23, 1851; Affleck to A. Hart, February 17, 1851.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Affleck to J. Louis Jourdan and Company, August 14, 1851.

⁴³ Affleck to C. G. Edwards, November 14, 1851.

⁴⁴ Affleck to J. C. Morgan, September 25, 1856. See also Affleck to Charles Fish, June 24, 1854.

⁴⁵ A large body of this material in the form of undated manuscripts is located in the Affleck Collection.

⁴⁶ Affleck to B. M. Norman, January 18, 1851.

⁴⁷ Affleck to Dr. Junius Smith, June 22, 1851.

⁴⁸ Affleck to D. McComb, January 23, 1851.

several. In 1851, Affleck made an arrangement to buy the refuse left from the manufacture of soda water by a New Orleans firm for \$1.50 per hogshead. He used some of it as fertilizer at his nursery and sold the rest through a business associate in New Orleans, F. D. Gay. The residue was a saturated sulphate of lime and preferable to the natural article as a provider of plant food.⁴⁹ Affleck called attention to this fact in the various publicity outlets available to him, and managed to receive some return for his trouble.⁵⁰

The soda water manufacturer realized that he had been selling a valuable product for less than its true worth and demanded a larger share of the returns. Affleck felt little confidence in the general public's ability to think for itself and threatened to reverse his field and decrease the demand as he had accelerated it. He instructed his New Orleans agent to buy a similar product from another firm. "If that will not do," he wrote Gay, "I can strike at another course that will spoil their traf[f]ic in it." There were profits to be made in all sorts of commercial fertilizers and there was no use mourning the loss of one product when another would do as well. "There is another article of manure," he advised Gay, "which I can bring into much demand. Shall I do so, & we divide the profits?"⁵¹

Affleck was evidently willing to act as agent for almost anything, and if he could not exact a commission in cash, any form of reasonable payment was acceptable. At one time or another, he became an agent for portable steam engines, slate roofs, print-

ing presses, books, magazines, sewing machines, stoves, sporting goods, fertilizer, livestock, and life insurance.⁵²

If he needed some article he would often try to have the manufacturer furnish it to him so that he might demonstrate its value, and sell it on commission.⁵³ Failing this, he might offer to trade advertising in his publications for all or a part of the desired object and then act as an agent for its sale to his neighbors.⁵⁴ In most of the proposals he made to manufacturers, dealers, and suppliers, he emphasized his power as a writer and known agricultural consultant.

The few occasions that Affleck promoted articles of doubtful value are hardly to be considered important when compared with the great and beneficial influence he exerted in the Southwest through the various media at his disposal. He dealt with the large problems of plantation and Southern economy and with the small details that made up the larger picture. He set forth his gospel with the zeal of a missionary, citing both chapter and verse.

⁴⁹ Affleck to F. D. Gay, April 10, 1851.

⁵⁰ Affleck to F. D. Gay, April 23, 1851.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Affleck to G. C. Bryant, July 11, 1852; Affleck to H. G. Hart, July 11, 1852; Affleck to W. H. Chambers, January 19, 1854; Affleck to Colonel G. H. Peck, April 12, 1854; Affleck to James D. B. De Bow, September 20, 1855; Affleck to Robert Sears, January 9, 1851; *Almanac, 1853*, 31; Affleck to Lyall and Davidson, September 5, 1851.

⁵³ Affleck to V. G. Audubon, August 19, 1853; Affleck to Colonel G. H. Peck, April 12, 1854.

⁵⁴ Affleck to Lyon and Bell, September 9, 1856; Affleck to Hoard and Company, August 29, 1856; Affleck to Wallaxe and Lithgow, February 9, 1853.

Black's Bend Grange, 1873-77: A Case Study of a Subordinate Grange of the Deep South

ROBERT PARTIN

In 1873 the farmers of Alabama, like the rest of the people of the State, were in the depths of poverty and despair. They not only suffered from the political chaos, demoralization, and poverty brought on by the Civil War and Reconstruction, but they also suffered from the paralyzing effects of the Panic of 1873. While Alabama groped in this "Stygian darkness," the organizers of the National Grange came into the State, preaching a creed of brotherhood and offering a program of hope—a creed and a program within the framework of Southern customs and traditions. The farmers of Alabama received these organizers with enthusiasm, and subordinate granges sprang up as if by magic.¹

Although the first subordinate grange in Alabama had been organized on July 15, 1872 at Yorkville,² for nearly a year the number increased slowly. During the spring of 1873, however, the movement began to grow rapidly. In fact, during the summer and fall of that year, "the number of granges leaped so phenomenally that, when the Alabama State Grange was formed [November 27, 1872], there already existed 320 subordinate granges, representing fifty out of the State's sixty-five counties."³ The Alabama State Grange reached its peak during the first months of 1875, with approximately 660 subordinate granges and about 18,000 members.⁴

The Secretary's Book of one of these subordinate granges—the Black's Bend Grange No. 364, Wilcox County—has recently been discovered.⁵ This little volume contains the minutes of this grange from December 27, 1873, to August 11, 1877. It provides an excellent study of the structure, the activities, and the problems of a subordinate grange of the deep South during the decade following the Civil War.

The Black's Bend community is located in a horseshoe loop on the eastern bank of

the Alabama River in southwestern Wilcox County. The area is approximately 10 miles wide and 12 miles long. The Black's Bend Academy—the one-room school house in which the Grange held its regular meetings—was located in the north central section of the Bend. It was approximately 18 miles southwest of Camden, the county seat, four miles south of the present village of Coy, and four miles east of the Alabama River.⁶ Black's Bluff, a nearby river land-

¹ For an account of the political, social, and economic conditions in Alabama during the 1870's, see Albert Burton Moore, *History of Alabama* (University, Alabama, 1935), 456-520. For an account of the Grange in Alabama, see *ibid.*, 571-572; William Warren Rogers, "The Alabama State Grange," *Alabama Review; A Quarterly Journal of Alabama History*, 8:105-106 (April, 1955).

² Charles M. Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer: A Concise Reference History of America's Oldest Farm Organization, and the Only Rural Fraternity in the World, 1867-1947* (Washington, 1949), 276.

³ Rogers, "The Alabama State Grange," 105-106.

⁴ For a list of the 660 subordinate granges of Alabama at the end of 1875, in order of the date of organization, see *Journal of the Proceedings of the Third Annual Session of the Alabama State Grange, Patrons of Husbandry, Held in Montgomery, Ala. November 30th, December 1st, 2nd, and 3rd, 1875* (Montgomery, 1876), 52-59.

⁵ Proceedings of the Black's Bend Grange No. 364, December 27, 1873-August 11, 1877. Hereinafter cited as Proceedings. The little volume is 6½ by 8½ inches, contains 142 pages, 123 of which were used. The book is in excellent condition. All of the minutes were kept by two secretaries: Dr. J. C. Godbold and R. A. Newell. Godbold's records fill 105 pages and Newell's 18. The book is the property of Mrs. Elsie Godbold, daughter-in-law of Dr. Godbold, who now resides in Auburn, Alabama. For permission to use the volume and for information regarding the people and places in the Black's Bend community, the writer is most grateful to Mrs. Godbold.

⁶ Interview with Mrs. Elsie Godbold, May 25, 1956; Letter and enclosed map of Black's Bend, W. H. Farish, Camden, Alabama, November 20, 1956 to Mrs. Elsie Godbold.

ing, was, by river, 110 miles from Selma, 205 miles from Montgomery, and 198 miles from Mobile.⁷ For the people of the Bend, the Alabama River was the chief highway to the outside world, for railroads did not reach Wilcox County until 1887.⁸

The Black's Bend Grange was located in the heart of the cotton-producing section of the country. In 1870 Alabama ranked third among the cotton-growing states of the nation, producing in that year 429,482 out of a total of 3,011,996 bales; and during the same year Wilcox County ranked fifth among the counties of the State, producing 20,095 of the 429,482 bales.⁹ The "bottom lands, or flood lands, and terraces" of the Bend with their "Amite fine sandy loam" were well adapted to the production of cotton;¹⁰ and in the 1870's it was presumably one of the leading cotton-producing areas of Wilcox County.

The economic life of the people of this region was dominated by cotton; and during the 1870's cotton was produced in this section almost entirely by Negro labor. Consequently, the two major problems of the people were how to produce cotton profitably and how to control the Negro politically. A well-known Alabama historian, writing about economic conditions in the State, observed that 1873 was a bad year for the people.

They were in the fathomless depths of bankruptcy; the State debt alone having advanced from about \$7,000,000 in 1867 to \$32,000,000. Crops had generally been poor since the surrender, and taxes were too heavy to be borne. Plantations were rented for their taxes, or parts of them sold to pay taxes on the rest.¹¹

To be more specific, in 1876 it cost the farmers of Alabama 9.9 cents to produce a pound of cotton for which they received 10.1 cents; that is, on a bale of 400 pounds a farmer made 80 cents.¹² To make matters worse, the farmers of this region did not produce enough food for their needs.

In 1870, Wilcox County had 21,610 free Negroes out of a total population of 28,377.¹³ This made the political and social problems of the Grange far more difficult than their economic problems. During the entire life of the Grange, Wilcox County,

including the Bend, was "in a death grapple with the carpetbaggers and colored men for the control of the State."¹⁴ Although the Democrats gained control of Alabama in 1874, Wilcox and several neighboring counties remained in Republican control until 1880. Even when the Democrats won, according to a "true Democrat" of Black's Bend, they won only by outswindling the Republicans who practiced "Fraud . . . at nearly every Box in the County."¹⁵ Politically and socially, this was undoubtedly the darkest period in the history of Wilcox County.

The Grange was a rural fraternity, and its most notable aspect was its resemblance to the Masonic Order. Oliver H. Kelley, its founder, was a Mason and was deeply impressed with the virtue of a secret ritual as a binding force among farmers. One recent historian of the Grange goes so far as to say that "it is probably no exaggeration to assert that if there had been no Masonry there might be no grange today."¹⁶ Certainly, the Proceedings of the Black's Bend Grange reveal, on almost every page, the imprints of Masonry. For

⁷ For a table of river landing on the Alabama in 1877, see Saffold Berney, *Handbook of Alabama: A Complete Index to the State; With a Geological Map, and an Appendix of Useful Tables* (Mobile, 1878), 310-312.

⁸ B. F. Riley, *Alabama As It Is: Or, The Immigrant's and Capitalist's Guide Book to Alabama* (Atlanta, 1888), 139.

⁹ U. S. Department of Interior, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Agriculture*, 83.

¹⁰ G. A. Swenson, et al., *Soil Survey of Wilcox County, Alabama*, Bureau of Chemistry and Soils in cooperation with the Alabama Department of Agriculture, United States Department of Agriculture, Series 1932, no. 26, issued May, 1938, 2-3, 24-25.

¹¹ Moore, *History of Alabama*, 499.

¹² Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of the Operation of the Department for the Year 1876 (Washington, 1877), 138.

¹³ U. S. Department of Interior, *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Population*, 11-12.

¹⁴ Moore, *History of Alabama*, 499.

¹⁵ Robert Partin, ed., "A Black Belt Doctor's Diary, 1880," *The Alabama Review: A Quarterly Journal of Alabama History*, 7:146 (April, 1954).

¹⁶ Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer*, 22.

instance, it held its regular meetings in secret; its members at these meetings and at times on public occasions wore a prescribed "regalia"; it had secret passwords; at times it drilled the members in the "unwritten work of the order"; it conferred degrees upon its members; it encouraged charity and educational work; and in other ways it followed practices and procedures of a Masonic lodge.

In order to give the movement unity and cohesion, the National Grange not only employed the ritual and pattern of the Masonic Order, but it also set up an elaborate national, state, and county system and suggested and encouraged many economic, educational, social, and fraternal activities. It chartered all subordinate granges, charging a fee of \$15.00; it collected quarterly dues from them; it required them to abide by the National Constitution, by-laws, and other specified regulations;¹⁷ it issued a manual in which were set down the procedures which all members had to follow.¹⁸ It tried to coordinate aims and purposes of all granges by stating them emphatically;¹⁹ it published a huge amount of literature; and it set up state and county units. One needs only to read both the Proceedings of the Black's Bend Grange and the literature of the National Grange in order to understand the faithfulness with which the members of this local unit followed the practices and procedures prescribed by the national organization. The Black's Bend Grange was subordinate to the National Grange, however, in a fraternal, not a servile, manner. Its members were very proud of their membership in "the Noble Order of the Grange."

The Black's Bend Grange was organized "at the Academy"²⁰ by the Hon. J. J. Roach, Special Deputy of the Patrons of Husbandry.²¹ Although the Grange was formally organized on December 27, 1873, Roach or someone else had obviously done considerable work prior to that date.²² At the organizational meeting 26 persons were present, 14 men and 12 women. The only recorded business of this meeting was the election of the following officers, "elected

to serve until we receive our charter": Captain George H. Moye, Worthy Master; Jason Hallomon, Overseer; D. Mc. S. Carstarphen, Lecturer; Isham Moore, Chaplain; John L. Newell, Treasurer; Dr. J. C. Godbold, Secretary; D. N. Primm, Gate Keeper; Mrs. E. J. Hallomon, Ceres; Mrs. T. D. Smith, Pomona; Miss Rosa M. Godbold, Flora; Miss M. E. Carstarphen, Lady Assistant Steward.²³ This temporary group later became the permanent officers for the year 1873-74.

At the first called meeting, January 10, 1874, the Worthy Master appointed a committee "to purchase the necessary material & fixtures for the House"; conferred three degrees upon charter members; "installed Mr. Isham Moore as Chaplain and Miss Rosa M. Godbold as Flora."²⁴ At the same meeting, the members of the Grange decided to meet on the second and fourth Saturdays of each month, and "then closed to meet Saturday, January 24, at 10 o'clock A. M." Sometime prior to January 24, "the Box containing the Disposition & c" was

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 55, 422-423.

¹⁸ *Manual of Subordinate Granges of the Patrons of Husbandry, Adopted and Issued by the National Grange* (3rd ed., Washington, 1871). Hereinafter cited as *Manual*.

¹⁹ The Declaration of the Purposes of the National Grange may be found in Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer*, 517-519.

²⁰ The Academy was built by "private subscription" sometime before the Civil War. After the War it was used first as a private school building and then as a public school building. It was destroyed by a tornado about 1912. Interview with Mrs. Godbold, May 25, 1956.

²¹ Roach was from Camden, and evidently he was prominent in Grange work in the county; for in 1875 he was master of the Camden Grange, *Southern Planter*, 5:404 (July 8, 1875).

²² There were eight subordinate granges in Wilcox County: Clifton No. 15, Allentown No. 16, Camden No. 17, Lower Peach Tree No. 56, Bethel No. 57, Fatama No. 185, Black's Bend No. 364, and Rehoboth No. 506.

²³ Proceedings, 1. The quotations from the Proceedings are copied as accurately as it was possible to copy them. All misspelled words are reproduced as they were written. In a few cases, however, the writer inserted commas and periods in order to clarify the meaning.

²⁴ For the details of the elaborate installation ceremony, see *Manual*, 48-60.

received by the Grange. Presumably, this box contained the charter, the constitution, a Grange manual, "the instruments," and other instructions and articles necessary in conducting the affairs of a local grange. At the same meeting a bill for the materials and fixtures "was allowed & ordered paid." The Worthy Master conferred another degree; appointed delegates to the County Council; and appointed a committee to draft by-laws for the Grange. On February 24, the committee "offered" and the Grange "adopted with a few changes" a set of by-laws "drawn by W. Roberts of Columbiana, Ala."²⁵ Thus in a matter of a few weeks, Alabama Grange No. 364 was organized and started on its career.

Although the Black's Bend Grange, like thousands of other local units, met in a schoolhouse,²⁶ it had ambitions to have its own hall.²⁷ On July 1, 1876, a committee was appointed "to report at the next meeting upon the practicality of building a Grange Hall, the best way of raising the means to pay the same, the probable cost size plans & c & c." Although this committee existed for some time, no further action was taken on the matter.²⁸ In size, Alabama Grange No. 364 was average for the State. Actually, the largest number of paying members ever reported was 27, the average for the State at its peak was 27.57.²⁹

The time of meeting presented a number of problems. Saturday was the regular day for Grange meetings. From the founding to February 1876, the Grange met twice a month, but, after February 1876, it met only once a month. The Grange also had trouble finding a suitable hour for meetings. At least, meetings were held at all hours from 10:00 a.m. to 7:30 p.m., but the most popular hours were 10:30 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. The following is among the more interesting motions "moved and carried" regarding the time of meeting: "It was also moved and carried that we meet on the Saturday at candle light on or before full moon in each month."³⁰

Although it was not the duty of the secretary to keep the financial records of the

Grange, it was a practice among the granges to announce the "receipts of the evening" at each meeting.³¹ The secretaries of Black's Bend Grange were very careful in following this policy; they not only recorded each nickel and dime, but when there were no receipts, as was the case on August 22, 1874, the secretary wrote: "No receipts for the evening."³² As a result of this careful practice, the minutes contain an interesting, if incomplete, account of financial matters.

Most of the financial items represent a perfunctory, meticulous recording of fees and dues paid. Among the fees recorded were the initiation fee for men—\$5.00, for women—\$2.00; and the fee for conferring a degree upon a woman—50¢ (no record of the charge for a male degree was found; evidently it was included in the initiation fee). There were two types of dues: quarterly dues paid by all members, 25¢, and county dues also paid by all members, 5¢.³³ Although it was not a part of his duty to keep the records of the dues paid to the State Grange, the secretary, from time to time, made note of such payments. For instance, he noted on March 28, 1874, that the Treasurer had sent \$4.24 to John T. Harris, Treasurer of the State Grange, Opelika.³⁴

The special expenditures are more interesting than dues and fees. Here are some of the more important items which were

²⁵ Proceedings, 2-5.

²⁶ The minutes of each meeting, almost without exception, begin with the full name of the Grange, the place, the time, the type of meeting, the date, and the name of members present. All information regarding these matters is taken from the headings of the minutes.

²⁷ For a plan of a subordinate Grange hall, see *Manual*, 2.

²⁸ Proceedings, 90 ff.

²⁹ This number of paying members was reported on December 26, 1874. The average is reached by using the figures quoted above, that is, 660 subordinate granges with a membership of 18,000 members.

³⁰ Proceedings, 89.

³¹ *Manual*, 4.

³² Proceedings, 30.

³³ *Ibid.*, 6-124, *passim*.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

"Allowed and ordered paid": a bill of \$9.00 for curtains, a bill of \$3.00 for "curtain rings & c.", a bill of \$2.00 for braid to finish regalia, a bill of 50¢ for washing the ladies' sashes, a bill of \$1.25 for stamps, paper, and envelopes, a bill of \$1.75 for "express charges Freight & Ware Housing on Seal."³⁵ In the records of the meeting of September 11, 1875, was found this unusual item: "A motion was made & carried that we pay the secretary out of the Grange funds 25¢ for each meeting from this date . . ." On July 9, 1874, a very important motion was passed: "It was moved and carried that the Treasurer be instructed to forward the bill which was made out by the committee for the Regalia with what funds he has in the Treasury to Mobile as early as possible and endeavor to get the material. . . ." Although the cost of the material was not mentioned it evidently depleted the treasury, for, at the same meeting, the members agreed that if the funds were not sufficient, each would pay his pro rata share of the deficit. "The Worthy Ladies" and "the Worthy Chaplain," were excused from the levy; the other members had to pay 27¢ each.³⁶

Although the Grange had its financial troubles—it suspended one member for non-payment of dues, and during the last day of its existence "indulged" other members who were in arrears—most of the members appeared willing to meet their financial obligations promptly. It is interesting to note that the receipts for the quarter ending July 1, 1877, the last full quarter of the Grange's recorded existence, were \$5.50, only 20 cents less than at the end of the boom quarter ending April 1, 1875.³⁷ During its nearly four years of existence, the Grange collected somewhere between \$250.00 and \$275.00.³⁸ This amount does not include special assessments and, of course, does not include the price of food eaten.

One of the major objectives of the National Grange was the advancement of education "among ourselves, and our children, by all the just means within our power . . ." ³⁹ It was the duty of the Worthy

Master of the subordinate grange to encourage education within his jurisdiction. But it was the Worthy Lecturer who was assigned the special duty of "imparting instruction to the members of the Grange." "To this end," runs the instruction of the *Manual*, "you will be prepared at each meeting . . . to deliver short addresses; to read or cause to be read, short articles containing useful information, and to suggest topics for discussion by the Grange."⁴⁰ The Worthy Lecturer and the other members of the Black's Bend Grange certainly took their educational duties seriously.

At a meeting of July 25, 1874, it was "suggested that we discuss at each meeting such subjects as would be most important to us for the advancement of our social, agricultural and financial, as well as for the improvement of our literary, attainments." The members evidently decided that agricultural subjects would bring to them the most improvement, at least most of their instruction was agricultural. These South Alabama Grangers, led by their Worthy Lecturer, tried a number of methods: lecture, essay, "orations," the reading of articles from magazines, the query box, and the project method.⁴¹

The members heard lectures on "Temperance," "The Value of Perseverance and Energy," "Beautifying the Homes," and, on a special occasion the Worthy Master Moye read a humorous article "written by himself."⁴² But most of the lectures were on agriculture. The following are typical:

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 3, 40, 72, 25, 47.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 57, 23-24, 29-30.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 117, 49.

³⁸ This estimate is based upon the assumption that 20 men paid \$5.00 initiation fee, total \$100.00; that 18 women paid \$4.00 initiation and degree fee, total \$72.00; and that an average of 17 members paid 30¢ a quarter for 18 quarters, total \$91.80. This makes a grand total of \$263.80.

³⁹ Declaration of Purposes of the National Grange, quoted in Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer*, 517-519.

⁴⁰ *Manual*, 52, 53.

⁴¹ It is interesting to note that, although some effort was made to secure outside speakers, these efforts failed. Consequently, all the programs were presented by the members.

⁴² *Proceedings*, 51, 122, 123, 67.

"Progressive Farming," "The Best Method of Killing Cotton Worms," "The Cultivation of Upland Rice," "Turnips for a Fall and Winter Crop," and "The Best Method of Hiring Freemen."⁴²

The discussion method was used more extensively than the lecture or essay, for the members often discussed at several meetings a subject upon which they had heard a lecture. There was also, of course, a great deal of discussion of all the business of the Grange. Some of the subjects which they discussed were: "Making Home Fertilizer," "The Best Method of Controlling the Cotton Worm," "Best Results from Sowing Oats," "Does Subsoiling Reimburse for Labor and Expenses?," "The Best Method of Cultivation of Ground Peas, Sugar Cane, Millet and Chufas."⁴³ At times, the Worthy Secretary did not give the title of the subject, but gave instead the results of the discussion. For example, he reported on January 26, 1877, that "The syrup problem was solved by several of the members of the Grange."⁴⁴ In order to stimulate interest in the discussion and to give an opportunity for asking questions, a "Query [*sic*] Box" was used after June, 1876.⁴⁵

At first, members were not allowed to read articles as part of the program, but on November 4, 1874, the Grange passed an amendment to the by-laws allowing members to read "suitable articles instead of essays." Evidently the Secretary felt that articles were preferable to essays. On January 8, 1876, he remarked that

The Chaplain read the article from the "Southern Planter," under the head of "Hints for the Month." He having for its object in reading it the importance of more forcibly impressing upon each and every member the necessity of raising what they consumed at home.

After recording the nature of the article, the Secretary, who was an ardent believer in diversified farming, made the following comment:

The article is indeed well worthy a careful perusal by us all, for it elucidates fully the way we may avert the evils which still threaten us. Hence the

importance of acting with that discretion [*sic*] which should ever characterize those who profess to be progressive true & faithful Patrons.⁴⁶

Apparently, Dr. Godbold was permanently converted to the diversified system of farming; at last in 1880 he devoted much of his efforts to producing food for his family and livestock.⁴⁸

The Grange undertook several projects. It endeavored to make out "as accurately as possible a statistical crop report within the Jurisdiction of our Grange and forward the same as early as possible to D. Wyatt Aiken." It apparently sponsored a fair at Black's Bluff on July 4, 1874, at which "Flowers, Fruits, Vegetables & c &c &c." were exhibited. It offered a prize every quarter for the best "Garden products," it promoted "an acre of corn" project, and encouraged members to compete at the county and State fairs. And it offered a special prize to the lady making the best "Egg Bread."⁴⁹

Just how interesting and instructive was this ambitious educational program? On the one hand, there were many reports of no program because the one assigned for it was "indisposed," "begged to be excused," "begged the indulgence of the Grange," or was not present. The discussions were likewise reported at times, to be uninteresting.⁵⁰ On the other hand, an occasional lecture "was rife with interest for every one," "short chaste, and concise," "animated as well as earnest." Often the discussions were lively and interesting.⁵¹ On the whole, one may conclude that the education program was successful, not only in imparting knowledge to the members, but also in training them in public speaking and in community leadership. Even when there was no great

⁴² *Ibid.*, 36, 27, 113, 91, 66-67.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 28, 30, 25, 26, 55, 80, 85.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 88-123, *passim*.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 76.

⁴⁷ Partin, "A Black Belt Doctor's Diary, 1880," 142-144.

⁴⁸ Proceedings, 18, 15, 114-115, 54, 100.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 42, 103, 111, 94.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 6, 41, 66.

amount of knowledge given, one is inclined to feel, as did the Secretary about the discussion of certain questions from the query box,

If in the discussion of them there were no thoughts advanced or Ideas conveyed which were calculated to benefit any one present, still the discussion tended as an agreeable past time to those who had taken no side of the question.

Many of the programs were, if we may accept the Worthy Secretary's word, "appropos [sic] for the occasion" and filled with both "Information and Instruction."⁵²

There was another type of education which must have been very important to all loyal Grangers, namely, education "for the good of the order." Although the "unwritten work of the Order" is mentioned only once in the minutes, there must have been many hours devoted to it. Certainly, there were many lectures on the virtues of the Grange; and it is reasonably certain that the Worthy Lecturer, who worked so hard on other types of education, would not neglect instruction in fraternal matters.⁵³

The members of the Black's Bend Grange exerted themselves most vigorously to educate the adult members of their order, but they apparently did nothing at all to promote a public school system for their children. There were several causes for this indifference: traditionally, the people of this region were devotees of the private school idea; many of the Reconstruction public schools were worthless and were often regarded as a vicious influence; the people were very poor; and finally, as long as the Negroes were in political control of the region, public education meant a system of education controlled by Negroes.⁵⁴

Since this Grange was a rural fraternity, located in a section of the country famous for its neighborliness and hospitality, every meeting was, in a broad sense, a social affair.⁵⁵ But there were also many special social activities, the most popular being either "a repast" or "a dinner." There were numerous records of the members "indulging in the feast which was prepared by the Worthy Sisters." There were

a few picnics, and, at least, two dinners to which "our friends were invited." The most important affair of the year was the Founder's Day Celebration, held annually on December 4. Secretary Godbold obviously enjoyed these events; at times he made appreciative comments like the following:

The Grange then adjourned to enjoy the dinner which was certainly equal if not superior to anything of the kind it has ever been our privilege to see or pleasure to enjoy. The occasion is [one] with which we can refer to with pride as Patrons.⁵⁶

The specific foods which the Worthy Secretary and other members enjoyed on this and other occasions is a matter of conjecture. In his diary of 1880, however, Dr. Godbold named the foods which he purchased or produced on his plantation. Presumably, the "dinners" and "repast" were prepared from such foods. The following is a partial list: beef, ham, pork, lamb, chicken, fish, butter, eggs, milk, plums, peaches, scuppernongs, watermelons, plum and scuppernong jelly, peach preserves, cake, candy, cane syrup, potatoes (both "Irish" and sweet), peanuts, collards, turnips, corn, peas, rice, meal, flour, and sugar.⁵⁷

At most meetings, these social-minded Grangers "had quite a social time with our friends and neighbors." On one occasion it was recorded that the members "enjoyed themselves socially for upwards of Two Hours," before dinner was served. The decoration of Sister M. M. Carstarphen's grave was a gay social affair as well as a

⁵² *Ibid.*, 99.

⁵³ The only mention of "unwritten work" was made by Newell, *Proceedings*, 114. It is probable that Godbold felt that no reference should be made to such work.

⁵⁴ For a general discussion of educational conditions in Alabama during the period prior to and just after the Civil War, see Moore, *History of Alabama*, 320-352, 543-562.

⁵⁵ For a general treatment of social life in this region, see Glenn N. Sisk, "Social Life in the Alabama Black Belt, 1875-1917," *The Alabama Review: A Quarterly Journal of Alabama History*, 8:83-104 (April, 1955).

⁵⁶ *Proceedings*, 16, 37, 40, 68-69, 104-105, 17, 69.

⁵⁷ Partin, "A Black Belt Doctor's Diary, 1880," 142-144.

solemn one. The following is the record of the non-business affairs of this occasion:

Pursuant to previous appointment Black's Bend Grange No. 364 met at the Grange Hall on Saturday the 12th of May at 11 o'clock A. M. and after preparing bouquets [*sic*] and wreaths of flowers and each member dressing in the uniform of the Grange, proceeded to the Memorial Tree of our deceased sister M. M. Carstarphen and decorated the same in a very appropriate manner. On returning to the Hall partook of the ample repast prepared by the Sister Members, after which all participated in enjoying themselves in innocent recreation, such as social conversation games & c, both in and out of doors, until the hour of assembling the Grange, when Worthy Master J. C. Godbold assumed the chair, and called it to order, which was opened in due form.

On this day the Grange transacted an unusual amount of business and after the business was finished "drilled itself thoroughly in the 'unwritten work of the order' and with profit to all present."⁵⁸

The social aspects of the Grange were emphasized on almost every page of the Proceedings, and no doubt most of the members of the Black's Bend Grange would agree with a Wilcox County editor when he said: "The social and intellectual features of the order have been of great benefit and have afforded both enjoyment and instruction to its members. . . ." And they no doubt would have felt, as this editor did, that "the pleasure alone that it afforded the matrons of the order . . ." would justify keeping it going.⁵⁹

Although many Granges, angered by middlemen, railroads, and banks, went into business for themselves by organizing cooperative enterprises, Black's Bend Grange did little or nothing in this respect. The Grange did *consider* a number of business schemes, however. One of the first business projects to be brought before the members was a bank stock project. On March 28, 1874, Brother James N. Newell reported to the Grange that the Wilcox County Committee on Banking appointed by the County Council passed a resolution recommending that all granges in the county "keep open books for any who were desirous of taking stock, and the Treasurer

of the Grange was appointed agent to keep the books."⁶⁰

Grange No. 364 not only refrained from going into the mercantile business, but apparently strongly opposed any grange's doing so. At any rate, when it was brought to the attention of the order that Bethel Grange had suspended for 30 days its rule against the members "carrying on the illicit traffic in country produce," a committee was appointed to draw up resolutions censuring the action. The resolutions denounced the "sister Grange" for "buying cotton & country produce" and a copy was forwarded "to them for their careful consideration."⁶¹

On another occasion,

Brother C. F. Gerald of Sedan Grange Read for our consideration a Preamble & Resolution By-Laws & c, in regard to forming a "joint stock association" Its object being of uniting with the Different Granges in this and adjoining counties—to enable the members to purchase our supplies at wholesale quotations in the western cities.

Although it was announced after the reading of these resolutions that "A grand mass meeting of the adjoining Granges would be held at Sedan on the first Saturday in February . . . at which time the matter will be discussed in full,"⁶² there is no other reference to the stock association in the records.

Another cooperative scheme which failed was "the case" of "The Walking Cultivator." According to a circular from T. H. Jones, Nashville, Tennessee, read to the members of the Grange, this cultivator was "one of the greatest labor saving machines in use. Said to do the work of four single Horse Plows." The matter was deferred until a future meeting. At the next meeting, the matter was again postponed, because "Brother Moss, the most zealous advocate for the Grange to take advantage of

⁵⁸ Proceedings, 69, 104, 114. The planting of memorial trees and the decoration of graves of "departed members" were suggested in the *Manual*, 64.

⁵⁹ The Wilcox *Indicator* (Camden), December 8, 1875.

⁶⁰ Proceedings, 11.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 33, 35.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 54.

the low rates on the 'cultivator,' " was absent. But at a meeting on March 11, 1876, a vote "upon the proposition to purchase the 'Walking Cultivator' " was taken, and all but two members voted "in the negative." A resolution granting the right to purchase it "individually was carried unanimous."⁶²

One of the few cooperative business efforts of the Grange was that regarding the price to be paid for picking cotton. The following is the Secretary's full report on the matter:

After several efforts upon the part of the Bros. it was moved and carried that we only pay hands at the rate of 25¢ per hundred for "picking Cotton" & feed them or 40¢ and they feed themselves—provided that all who are not members of the order abide by this resolution.⁶³

"The backbone of the 'Grange Movement' was opposition to the greedy program of the American railroads."⁶⁴ Since, as stated above, there was not a mile of railroad in Wilcox County in the 1870's the railroads do not seem to have been the enemy of the Black's Bend Grangers. But "the Boats" were. The brothers of the order, if the minutes are indicative of their efforts, spent more time and effort upon the subject of boat rates than upon any other cooperative enterprise.

At a called meeting on October 2, 1875, the Grange took up the boat rates for the first time. After stating, in the strongest language recorded in the minutes, that "the main object of our organization is mutual protection," the Grange declared that it should endeavor "by all means at its command" to make the most advantageous "arrangements" with "the Steam Boats" for transportation of farm products and supplies, the members passed the following resolutions: "Resolved that we send at least a committee of (2) two members from our Grange to see the officers and owners of each Boat, and ascertain from them the lowest Tariff Rates they will contract with us to carry passengers, cotton, freight & c for." A committee was then appointed to "wait on each Boat."⁶⁵ At a stated meeting on October 9, the committee reported that the boat officers asked for

more time to give "a decisive answer," and at the meeting of October 23, it was reported that no arrangements had been made by the committee with the owners. At the last named meeting, the delegates to the County Council were instructed to call the attention of the Council to the matter, and "get them if possible to contract with some certain Boat to do the entire business of the Patrons of the County."⁶⁷

The special delegates met with the County Council at Camden on May 3, 1876, and at that time "made arrangements" with "Capts. Finnegan and Quill." But these "arrangements" were not acceptable to the members of Black's Bend Grange. When the Worthy Gate Keeper, who was one of the members of the special county committee, read the report on the "Proceedings" of that meeting which was published in the county paper,⁶⁸ his hearers were not pleased with the action taken. After "discussing both the Pros & Cons" of the agreement entered into with Captains Finnegan and Quill, "the Grange with the exception of one Bro. voted their protest against the proposition." The arrangement was rejected because it was believed to be "magnanimous on one side." It was regarded as "magnanimous" on the side of Captains Finnegan and Quill, because it granted to the members of the Grange no advantages which it did not grant to the other shippers of the region. Then the angry Grangers entered a protest against the County Council for "projecting any plan or endorsing any agreement, that whereby in a great measure those who are not members will receive the same benefits as Patrons."⁶⁹ Thus, after more than eight months of work on its most ambitious pecuniary "endeavor," Grange No. 364 closed its efforts with a vigorous protest against the

⁶² *Ibid.*, 76, 79, 81.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁶⁴ Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer*, 13.

⁶⁵ *Proceedings*, 59-60.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

⁶⁷ The agreement was printed in full in the Wilcox *Indicator*, May 10, 1876.

⁶⁸ *Proceedings*, 86-87.

action of the neighboring granges whose cooperation it had sought in vain.

Although the Grange, like most fraternal orders, carried on charitable work among its members, there is only one reference to charity in the minutes. On October 3, 1874, it was recorded that the officers of the Grange were "to constitute a committee to assist the sick and minister to their wants as far as possible."⁷⁰

One of the most remarkable aspects of this South Alabama Grange was its strict adherence to the National Grange's policy of "no politics."⁷¹ Although the Black's Bend Grange existed during the last bitter years of Reconstruction when the people of Wilcox County, including those of Black's Bend, were waging a bitter war against Negroes and carpetbaggers, not one word of political rancor or hatred is expressed in the minutes. In fact, only one political item, and that a non-partisan one, is recorded in the minutes.⁷² On October 24, 1874, the Secretary made the following entry:

The resolution drawn up by the State Executive Committee memorializing Congress to pass a bill for the refunding of the Cotton Tax obtained by the revenue in 65, 66, 67 was read by the Master and adopted—and was forwarded by the Secretary to the Master of the State Grange. A resolution was passed that we send at our earliest convenience the sum of \$3.00 to assist in paying the expenses of the agent whose duty it will be to endeavor to get the Bill through Congress.⁷³

Among the men and women who organized and led the Grange during the years of its existence and who were present at both the first and last meetings were the following: D. Mc. S. Carstarphen, James N. Newell, J. C. Godbold, Mrs. T. D. Smith, William Primm, R. A. Newell, G. C. Newell, Mrs. Fannie Nettles. All of these members were officers at the last meeting, and some of them had served since the group's organization. It is also possible that other charter members were present at the last meeting, for only the names of officers were recorded. Although Worthy Master George H. Moye was not mentioned as being present at the last meeting, he was one of the most important members.⁷⁴

The attendance and work of these and other members are the best testimony of their devotion, but some of them gave expression to their feelings regarding "our Noble Order." At the second founders' day celebration, December 5, 1875, the Worthy Lecturer delivered "a short chaste, and concise article upon the benefits and advantages to be derived from the *Modus Operandi* [*sic*] of our Noble Order." The *modus operandi* frequently got out of order, and whenever it did, one of the officials tried to put it back in order with a fraternal oration. At the founder's day celebration in 1876, the Worthy Lecturer delivered an address "showing how utterly impossible it is for the Grange ever to become a failure." On April 15, 1876 the Worthy Overseer stated that he had "no fears of being called upon to chronicle the demise of our Grange." On January 26, 1877, the retiring Worthy Master Moye, after thanking the members for their efforts in behalf of the Grange, urged them "to renew our efforts and not to falter by the way side and pledged his time and talents and hearty cooperation to sustain the only organization which was created for our special benefit, nurtured as our only hope and working for our best interest."⁷⁵

Dr. J. C. Godbold not only served as an officer throughout the recorded life of the order, but he kept most of the records. This energetic Granger actually signed the minutes of all but four of the meetings, six as

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 33. For a brief statement of the Grange's charity work, see Solon Justus Buck, *The Grange Movement: A Study of Agricultural Organizations, 1870-1880* (London, 1913), 40-80.

⁷¹ For a statement of the non-political attitude of the Grange, see Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer*, 518.

⁷² The cotton tax was a very objectionable tax. The carpetbaggers as well as the native Southern farmers demanded its repeal and, after repeal, presumably demanded a refund of the tax. For a brief statement regarding its unfairness, see Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (New York, 1905), 303-307.

⁷³ Proceedings, 36-37.

⁷⁴ Worthy Master Moye missed only six meetings during his term of office.

⁷⁵ Proceedings, 69, 105, 86, 108.

master and the others as secretary. The *Manual* stated that "The records of the Grange will ever be held as a valuable memento of your labors. Let them be exact, and a faithful history of its work." Dr. Godbold left a most "valuable memento," and "faithful history."¹⁶

But in spite of all the oratory, the devotion and hard work of its officials, the Black's Bend Grange did falter and fail. Although the Secretary did not knowingly "chronicle the demise" of the order, he unwittingly did so when he closed the minutes of August 11, 1877, with this final statement of the Secretary Book:

The regular order of business having passed over and nothing further claiming attention, the Worthy Steward secured the implements, and the Grange was closed in due form to meet again the 2nd Saturday in September at 3 o'clock P. M.—J. C. Godbold, Master; R. A. Newell, Secretary.¹⁷

Since this South Alabama Grange was only a small part of the national movement, its "demise" was caused, no doubt, by the same forces that cause the failure of thousands of subordinate granges over the nation.¹⁸ The minutes indicate, however, that the decline in attendance and interest were due to three causes: the dullness of the programs, the actions of other granges, and poverty and the consequent inability to pay dues. Likewise, all the beneficial effects common to the movement—educational, social, economic,

patriotic, cultural, organizational, and inspirational—were felt by the Grangers of this local in the deep South. The Grange set the pattern and furnished the inspiration for other farm organizations.¹⁹ All things considered, however, the inspirational feature was probably the most important, for through inspirational talks and the unselfish actions of the leaders, these farmers felt that theirs was a noble calling, worthy of much of their time and the best of their talents.

¹⁶ *Manual*, 56. As a matter of fact, Dr. Godbold excelled his instructions in exactitude. For example, immediately following the statement, "Let them be exact, and a faithful history of its work," is the following: "Assistant places sash and pouch upon him; conducts him to his seat." Nowhere in the minutes does Dr. Godbold spell *seat*, *seat*.

¹⁷ The Black's Bend Grange seemed to have retained its vigor much longer than other Granges in Wilcox County. The Camden Grange, to cite but a single example, which was once a flourishing order with nearly one hundred members, had by December 1875 dwindled to the place where "there is ever indication of its final dissolution." The Wilcox *Indicator*, December 8, 1875.

¹⁸ Summaries of these causes may be found in Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer*, 53-60; and in Rogers "The Alabama State Grange," 116-117.

¹⁹ Appraisal of the effects of the Grange movement upon Alabama may be found in Rogers, "The Alabama State Grange," 117-118. Appraisal of its general effect upon the nation may be found in Gardner, *The Grange—Friend of the Farmer*, 102-258, *passim*.

Hiram Smith (1817-1890)

W. H. GLOVER

Hiram Smith's career coincided with the period in which the best farmers of Wisconsin began to think as business managers rather than as ploughboys and valets to domestic animals. He excelled in the art of management, solving basic problems with amazing certainty, never deviating from the principle of making his farm do its very best. His public career was notable—it won him a place in the *Dictionary of American Biography*—but it was domestic triumph that prepared him for that career. His constant re-evaluation of his operations and the imagination shown in his choices of new procedures would mark him as a great figure in any activity.

How far ahead he lifted himself may be judged by the fact that his practice of feeding cattle green forage in the yard rather than allowing them to tramp around the pasture is just now appearing among the better-managed dairy farms. Smith made it regular practice on his farm in the 1880's. He discovered that he could afford to pay labor to do the cow's browsing job to prevent her from trampling what she did not eat, and he was thus able to choose forage crops without having to consider their resistance to bovine promenading.

It is not remarkable that a man with such canniness was relatively prosperous. Hiram owned and managed a farm of 211 acres of cropland and 20 of woodlot near Sheboygan, Wisconsin in the 1850's, where he lived almost until his death in 1890. He never allowed his land to be legally encumbered in any way.

In the 1850's he was concerned with the small return from his wheat crops. He tried factory cheese operations in 1858, buying curd from his neighbors, but was forced by the neighbors' practice of incorporating water into the curd to go back to buttermaking. This he consistently improved, learning that the railroads had made good markets available. He sold to

hotels in Milwaukee and Chicago and shipped direct to commission merchants in New York in the 1860's and after.

Smith never invented anything or grew rich. He merely developed his farming step by step. Only the results were dramatic. In 1885 he was maintaining on his 211 acres 80 to 90 milk cows, plus young stock, pigs, and horses. He bought bran as a supplemental feed, paying for it with pork produced on the skim milk by-product of his buttermaking, and got his income by selling butter. Allowing himself \$500 a year for managing, his enterprise still produced a return of at least 10 per cent on his invested capital.

He had discovered that proper feeding eliminated the poor-producing cows he normally sold in the fall; they became profit makers in milk when fed enough to fatten them for the market. He then decided he must find more fodder and keep his herd producing through the winter, thereby getting decidedly higher prices for butter. He concluded then that it would pay him to eliminate pasturage and cut fodder for the herd through the summer, thereby gaining extra winter feed.

He was made a Regent of the University of Wisconsin in 1878. Thereafter, he matured his operations in contact with many fellow-members of the Wisconsin State Dairymen's Association, who were also concerned with the prospective College of Agriculture. From them he learned of the silo and was finally convinced that a purebred Jersey bull would help bring his production to a satisfactory level.

To Smith, who openly proclaimed his dependence upon good friends for true satisfaction in living, any course but full and generous sharing of his findings would have been impossible. Inevitably he became one of the most effective of Wisconsin's dairy leaders; as demonstrator of the efficiency of the new farming he was unexcelled. He had vigor, candor, earnest

brotherly spirit and, above all, proof in his own experience that businesslike management was essential to success on the farm. Brilliant though he was, W. D. Hoard himself could not command respect beyond that accorded Smith, and Hoard would have been the first to insist that Smith was the greatest of their group. Under Smith, W. A. Henry came to Wisconsin to establish the Experiment Station (1883) and, ultimately, the College of Agriculture (1889); it was Smith who was the model of inspirational education that brought the passage of a bill in 1885 to establish the

Farmers' Institutes in imitation of those in New York and elsewhere. The first dairy building on the campus was Hiram Smith Hall. In these institutions can be seen the influence of a life that was devoted almost religiously to the duller of farm tasks. It properly belongs among those that have been most richly creative in our agricultural history.

Editor's Note: The editors intend to present regularly a brief biographical sketch of some "famous farmer." They will welcome suggestions and invite contributions in this respect.

ADVICE FOR FARMERS' DAUGHTERS IN 1858

No one who has not tried them knows the value of husk beds. Certainly mattresses would not be used if husk beds were tried. They are not only more pliable than mattresses, but are more durable. To have husks nice, they may be split after the manner of splitting straw for braiding. The finer they are split the softer will be the bed, although they will not be likely to last as long as when they are put in whole. Three barrels full, well stowed in, will fill a good sized tick. The bed will always be light, the husks do not become matted down like feathers, and they are certainly more healthful to sleep on. It is calculated that a husk bed will last from twenty-five to thirty years. Every farmer's daughter can supply herself with beds (against the time of need) at a trifling expense, which is quite an inducement now-a-days.—*Liberty (Missouri) Weekly Tribune*, February 5, 1858.

THE INDIANS HAD A WORD FOR IT—SINZIBUCKWUD

Maple syrup was known to the Indians of North America long before the French and English explorers arrived. The Algonquin tribes had a word for maple syrup—*Sinzibuckwud*—meaning "drawn from wood," and several Indian religious festivals were dedicated to the maple tree.

The Smithsonian's Old Farmhouse

A recent addition to the Smithsonian Institution's permanent display, "Everyday Life in Early America," is a farmhouse of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which was moved virtually intact from Everett, Massachusetts.

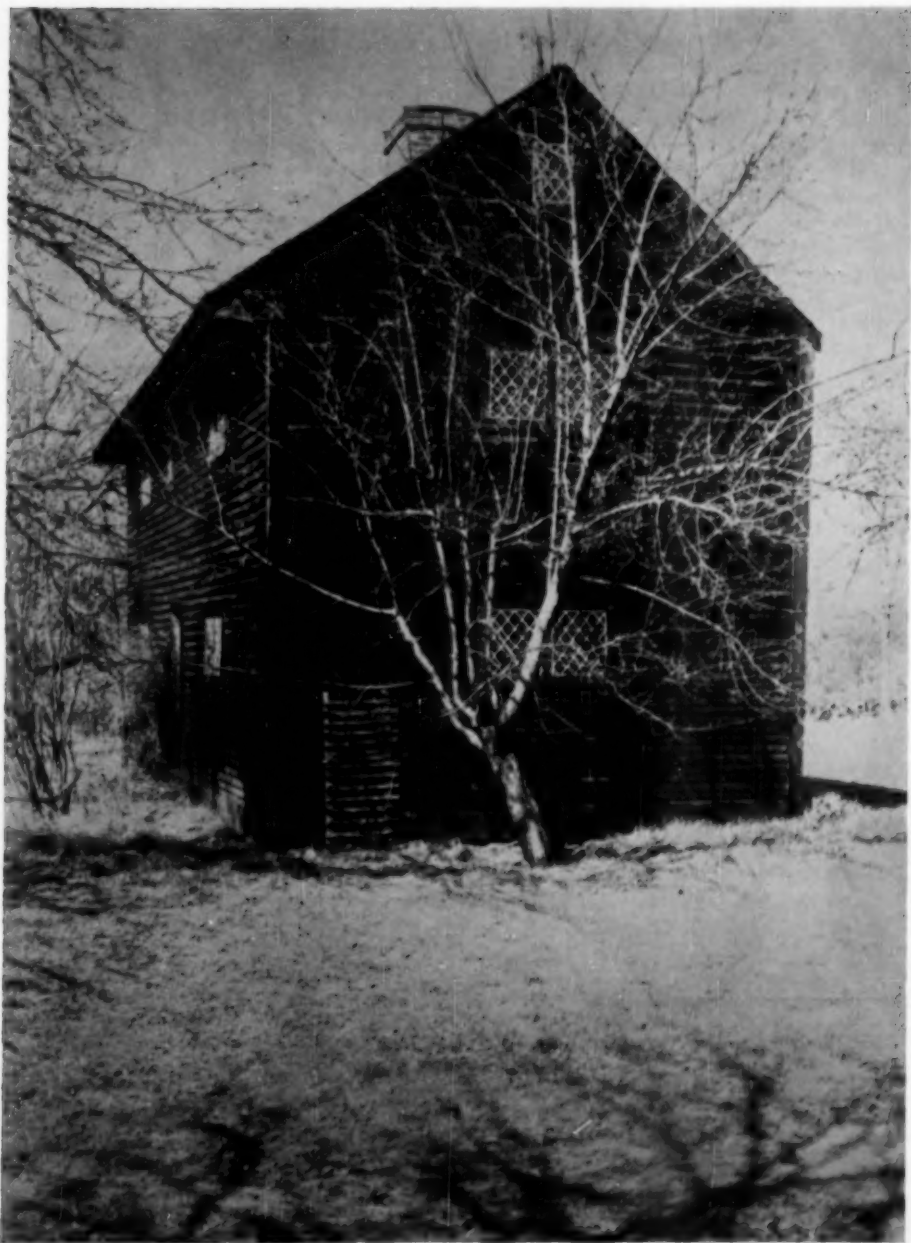
Originally constructed about 1690, the building contained a kitchen and parlor downstairs and two bedrooms upstairs. Above was an attic or garret in which younger members of the household slept. Heat was provided by fireplaces in a large central chimney. As installed in the Na-

tional Museum, the house retains its original construction features and exact size.

Donor of the farmhouse is Mrs. Arthur M. Greenwood of Marlborough, Massachusetts, who also contributed its large collection of antique furniture and kitchen accessories. The task of dismantling and moving the weathered structure from Massachusetts to Washington, D. C., was under the supervision of C. Malcolm Watkins, Associate Curator of Cultural History, of the Smithsonian.



Kitchen fireplace in the Massachusetts Bay Colony House. An unusual feature is the English-style brick hob. Surrounding the fireplace are such familiar objects as the toaster (upper left), iron skillet on the hob, iron pot hanging on a trammel, iron bake oven or Dutch oven (lower right) with a toaster next to it, pipe tongs, skewers, and wooden peel for removing pies from the brick oven.



The Smithsonian Institution's farmhouse as it appeared in its original Massachusetts setting. The building, with its weathered clapboards and leaded casement windows, is typical of late 17th century New England architecture.

Book Reviews

Books for review should be sent to C. Clyde Jones, Associate Editor, Room 112, David Kinley Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois

The Agricultural Implement Industry in Canada. By W. G. PHILLIPS. (University of Toronto Press, 1956, xi, 208 pp., \$4.50.)

It is refreshing to find a book about the farm implement business which has not been subsidized by a corporation to celebrate an anniversary or centennial. The epidemic of such books in recent years apparently has glutted the market and satiated the appetite of the most gullible readers. Even the high-powered advertising managers who dream in technicolor should realize that the public now holds reservations about stereotyped company histories which portray the original founders as all having been of noble stock, reared in adversity, endowed with superior brains and imbued with such quantities of guts and virtue that they alone emancipated the "Man with the Hoe," and thus ushered in a new era of rural bliss.

Fortunately, W. G. Phillips in *The Agricultural Industry in Canada* is of sterner stuff. It is one of eight monographs in a series entitled, "Canada Studies in Economics," and is sponsored by the Canadian Social Science Research Council.

Since the farm implement business in Canada was closely related to its counterpart in the United States, the author devotes the first section of the volume to the history of the manufacture of farm machinery in the States. Here attention centers upon the emergence of the early harvesting companies such as McCormick, Osborne, Marsh, Plano, Deering, Manning and Aultman-Miller. The instability of this industry is reflected in the various boom and bust business cycles, the bitter harvester wars, the patent squabbles and the eventual movement toward consolidation and mergers around 1900. Considerable detail is given the growth of the McCormick company as a builder of reapers

into the present International Harvester Company which produces 54 different machines. Likewise it is interesting to see how approximately 70 other farm implement firms were eventually merged into the present full line farm machinery corporations, namely, John Deere, Oliver, J. I. Case, Allis-Chalmers, and Minneapolis-Moline.

The Canadian Farm implement industry, according to Phillips, originated in Newcastle, Ontario, when Daniel Massey as early as 1849 began manufacturing plows and harrows. Scores of other small companies entered this field in the 1850's, but relied upon patents designs in the United States rather than upon their own inventions. This absence of innovation, however, was compensated for by the Canadian tariffs on imports and by the lower costs of material and labor. A consolidation of these industries paralleled that in the United States. Today the Massey-Harris-Ferguson combines and the Cockshutt tractors are Canadian leaders. The strength of the Canadian industry can be seen in the fact that in 1952, ninety per cent of the nation's exports went to the United States. Most of the farm implements manufactured in Canada are sold in the United States while most of the machinery sold in Canada is made below the border. Thus the farm implement industry of both countries is less independent than commonly believed.

In this account, the author overlooks certain aspects of the growth of this industry in the United States. He assumes that the present corporations evolved from the earlier firms which manufactured reapers, plows and tractors. He forgets that much of the impetus of the industry originated with companies which built threshing machines and agricultural steam engines. From 1850 to 1915 over a hundred firms

were engaged in these enterprises, among them such prominent names as Huber, Frick, Rumley, Gaar-Scott and Nicholas and Shepard. In fact, the western Canadian provinces depended upon American engines and separators to thresh grain crops as much as they relied on binders and tillage implements. Although the writer presents a mountain of data concerning production, distribution and prices, the conclusions might have been more specific. The reader still wants to know whether the manufacturers of farm machinery sold at exorbitant prices. Did collusion and price fixing eliminate competition? Does the Canadian Farm Loan Improvement Act suggest that national governments should become more involved in the farm implement business?

Nevertheless, the book reflects sound scholarship, good documentation and objective analysis. The author gives a sense of organization to an extremely complicated subject. To be able to make a logical synthesis out of the diverse elements associated with the agricultural machinery industries is an admirable achievement.

Reynold M. Wik
Mills College

The Agricultural Commodity Programs—Two Decades of Experience. By MURRAY R. BENEDICT AND OSCAR C. STINE. (Published by the Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, Inc., 1956, xliii, 510 pp.)

This volume fills an important need in recording in an easy reading style a useful history of federal programs as they apply to important agricultural commodities. The sub-title, "Two Decades of Experience," seems to indicate the objective of the authors, for the book is a painstaking, factual and statistical recital of the experience of commodity programs treated one by one.

This book should be regarded as a companion volume to the one published over the name of Dr. Benedict entitled, *Can We Solve the Farm Problem?* In that book there is an objective economic analysis

of the farm problem, particularly in Chapters 11 and 12. Chapter 12 in particular is a collaboration statement with several of the leading agricultural economists. (An earlier volume by the senior author was entitled, *Farm Policies of the United States, 1790-1950.*)

The reader will find some repetition of facts given in the preceding volumes, but this one has merit in consolidating information on one commodity or closely related groups of commodities in a single chapter. In reading this volume he should not expect an analysis that answers questions on the merits of past programs or that point to a clear cut path to be pursued in attaining a logical answer to problems that still exist. Statements bearing on solutions are realistic in recognizing the political implications of the farm problem.

In so far as one can detect the author's views on solutions to the farm problem, the following statement seems to the reviewer to represent the author's point of view: "In keeping with the almost world wide trend toward increased protection of the individual against the vicissitudes of price and income declines that are beyond his control, it seems clear that some form of price and income support will be retained at least for the politically important crops. The principal subject of controversy is the level of such supports, not whether supports shall or shall not be provided." The authors further state that two schools of thought exist on the principle of price floors and flexible prices above the floor level and the principle of maintaining "satisfactory prices through government action."

In presenting the detailed experience of farm programs with individual commodities the authors clearly set forth the differences in the programs; for instance, that of fluid milk handled through market agreement regulations without subsidy but under federal and state control is contrasted with the cotton program involving storage, government ownership, price supports, diversion programs and acreage control. Furthermore, the natural shifts in cotton production resulting from regional

competition and technical advances in production are well analyzed.

The scope of the presentation is exhaustive, reaching beyond the six basic crops to include all coarse grains, livestock, livestock products, sugar, potatoes, fruits and vegetables. The treatment clearly sets forth the diverse conditions affecting agriculture over the past 20 years—the acute depression of the 30's and the emergency agricultural legislation; the World War II period with its abnormal demand conditions; and the immediate prosperous post war period in which production tends to outrun the demand for farm products and with it the need for extensive readjustment in production.

In classifying the various devices employed in the farm programs, six categories are recognized: producer-controlled cooperative marketing agencies, holding operations to regulate the market flow of perishables, cut-backs in farm production to adjust supply to demand, measures to increase the relative buying power of farm groups, marketing agreements to stabilize and strengthen prices, and price supports achieved through government loans and purchases. Each commodity, or closely related group of commodities, are treated in separate chapters, affording a condensed history of experience up to 1955.

While the historical treatment is thorough, adequate footnotes afford a guide to the student for more detailed study. Little specific information is given to the effect of the agricultural programs on foreign production and market competition. The treatment is historical and as such should be helpful especially to those who are seeking to understand the farm problem and those who will probe deeper to find acceptable and effective solutions to it.

H. C. M. Case
University of Illinois

The Far Western Frontier, 1830-1860. By RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON. *The New American Nation Series.* Edited by HENRY STEELE COMMAGER AND RICHARD B. MORRIS. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1956, xix, 324 pp., \$5.00.)

There is nothing new nor surprising about the general outlines of this book. Beginning with an account of California, New Mexico and Texas under Spain and Mexico, the author proceeds to the story of the overland trade from Franklin and Westport Landing to Santa Fe, reviews the hunt for the beaver in the Rocky Mountains, narrates the covered-wagon saga of the early emigrants to Oregon and California, moves on to the colonization of Texas by the Anglo-Saxons, the Texan War of Independence and the acquisition of California and New Mexico in the Mexican War. After Guadalupe Hidalgo he summarizes the heroic story of the Mormons, the frantic episode of the California gold mania, the final phase of mining in the intermountain area and the closing of the gap between East and Far West by the freighters, the stage coaches and the pony express.

The editors have a difficult problem in working out in co-operation with the authors what might be called the "joints" between the different volumes. Apparently the story of Kansas settlement and of the western railroads will be left to later volumes, but in a sense Kansas is background for Colorado, and it must have required a more-or-less arbitrary decision to cut out such background. If Kansas is to be treated as a part of the free-soil controversy, still it may seem desirable to the author of the future volume dealing with it to do something with Kansas as a part of the story of western settlement as such. The beginnings of western railroad construction, of course, tie in with Kansas and the story of the stage-coach and the freight wagons, and there might be some point in explaining how the messages that were carried west by the pony express got to St. Joseph from the East. Billington, fortunately, does not let himself be confined by international boundaries; he gives, for example, a revealing account of the Fraser River gold rush. He has not fully solved the problem of where to deal with the Mormons when the topical method of organization is followed. Though emigrants were still moving along the Oregon Trail

in 1847, the story of the Mormon Exodus is not reached until about a hundred pages after the story of Oregon has been completed. The casual reader is likely to assume that more than the width of the Platte separated the Oregon and Mormon trails.

The volume is full of colorful scenes: a brilliant depiction of California in the golden, halcyon days before the Mexican War; Santa Fe when the traders arrived from Missouri, the little children skipping happily in the streets and the señoritas wearing their most beguiling make-up; the fur-traders at their mountain rendezvous, gambling away their "earnings, their rifles, their horses, their wives, and in a few cases their own scalps;" the survivors of the Donner party, stripping the flesh from the bones of deceased companions, "roasting and eating it, averting their faces from each other and weeping;" and Brigham Young's eight thousand Latter-Day-Saint converts in the fifties trudging to Salt Lake City, pushing their handcarts under a blazing sun over the plains and through the snowdrifts in the mountains. We hear the Forty-Niners of a dozen racial origins: Limies, Pikes and Paddies, Kesky-dees, Coolies and Kanakas, after having made a rare, rich strike in some river bottom, shouting to each other in a variety of dialects: "Well, Boys. I say, just look a there." On occasion we find them living in huts or caves in mining camps called Humbug Creek, Red Dog, Gouge Eye, Lousy Level or Gomorraah. Guided by Mr. Billington, the reader sees the bullwhackers of the freight outfits harness their teams of oxen and crack their bull whips against the animals' flanks, all under the direction of the bull boss. The pony express riders are presented "in red shirt, blue pants, and high-topped boots" galloping into San Francisco as "cannon boomed, bonfires flamed, bands ground out their discords, and a galaxy of speechmakers 'uncorked the bottles of their eloquence'."

In general, clear and adequate maps have been supplied, though minor slips have not all been strained out. The western

boundary of the United States according to the Adams-Onís Treaty, due north from the source of the Arkansas to the 42nd Parallel, is not accurately shown on pages 3 and 45. The odd San Xavier del Sac, which first appeared in *Westward Expansion*, unfortunately pops up again in this account on pages 2, 3 and in the index on page 321. The map of the Oregon Trail (page 97), though much more satisfactory than the highly inaccurate one in *Westward Expansion* (p. 516) shows the route apparently never crossing the Snake River. The Mormon Trail east of South Pass doesn't appear on any map. Geographically minded persons will be disturbed to read (on page 282) how Butterfield stagecoaches proceeded from southern California up the San Joaquin Valley to San Francisco. The water in the river runs down.

The narrative is a marvel of condensation. There are many longer treatments which purport to cover only part of the ground covered here, but which are actually much less inclusive. The author has used the most up-to-date secondary accounts, though he also shows that he has brought together information from the most obscure and various documents by actual participants and eye-witnesses. Thank goodness the footnotes are at the foot. What a literal pain in the neck it would have been to be forced to turn to the back to look up those very valuable references.

There is progress even among historians and publishers. There was nothing in the old *American Nation Series* as good as this.

Robert Samuel Fletcher
Oberlin College

The Wild Jackasses: The American Farmer in Revolt. By DALE KRAMER. *American Procession Series.* Edited by HENRY G. ALSBERG. (New York, Hastings House, 1956, ix, 260 pp., \$4.50.)

This brief book is a survey of agrarian discontent and its political manifestations in the Middle West from the forma-

tion of the Grange to the New Deal. Not intended for a scholarly public but for the lay reader, its emphasis is heavily upon the colorful personalities of agrarian leaders rather than upon an analysis of farm problems. In this highly personal type of history, the author conveys the impression that farm leadership consisted more of reform politicians, shrewd businessmen, and sheer opportunists than of farmers. For this reason, the earlier leaders in the agrarian cause—such as Jerry Simpson and Ignatius Donnelly—are treated sympathetically while the Non-Partisan Leaguers, especially Arthur Townley, are viewed as being not quite of the same stamp. Milo Reno, however, is favorably described as an essentially honest farm leader and businessman despite every indication that he was an opportunist at work.

Representing himself as entirely in sympathy with the farmer, the author asserts that the "hoofprints of the wild jackasses are on our democracy, and its configuration is the better for it." He accepts, also, with virtually no modification the idea that the cause of the farmer's plight was the passing of the frontier and, therefore, his explanation of the farmer's reliance upon politics was his inability to "light out for the New Purchase." There is the final impression too that when corn prices fall the basic pattern of the past will be repeated, although on a far less dramatic scale because of the shift of population from rural to urban living, and that the wild jackasses will revolt even if it means planting their hoofprints on the configuration of the current régime in Washington.

Mr. Kramer has been fortunate enough to know and work with some of the more recent farm leaders. He has examined the standard literature in the field. For his vigorous style and his outspokenness, Mr. Kramer will be read with pleasure and enthusiasm by the general public. Serious scholars will continue to rely upon the works of Fite, Hicks, Shannon and Saloutos.

Martin Ridge
San Diego State College

The Farmer and His Customers. By LADD HAYSTEAD. (Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, xvi, 99 pp., \$2.75.)

The author states that he "is acting merely as a journalist in endeavoring to bring out the fact that there is a problem and many suggested solutions, on one of which all contributors agreed—the need for rural-urban understanding." As journalistic writing this book deserves a pat on the back. How significant its contributions are to understanding is more debatable.

That there is inadequate understanding of the "farm problem" is patent. However, this book does little to improve that understanding of its more basic aspects. The opening does provide a brief, over-all picture of agricultural diversity. Chapter 3 discusses the classification of farms into income groups but overlooks the opportunity to make clear what there is about farming which makes a comparatively small unit typical. Real service might have been performed by doing so and by showing the effects on farm price and adjustment difficulties. In the light of the current hullabaloo over "preserving the family farm," one misses an adequate discussion of why the trend is towards larger farms with emphasis on the fact that these remain family units.

Marketing margins and surpluses receive attention but because of their importance some of the space taken up by less significant matters might well have been assigned to fuller treatment of them.

More than a few city dwellers may be wearied by some of the exaggerated pleadings of the farmer's case, but it is doubtful whether citizens generally really are irked at farmers. Also, it is difficult to accept the opinion that "the most stringent complaint" farmers have about city people is over hunters and their careless use of guns (page 53). Might it not have been more fruitful to have given city readers a better picture of how complex a business modern farming is? In turn, the view, often expressed in farm circles, that every-

one else enjoys monopoly power so has no price or surplus worry, might have been accepted as an invitation to throw some light on the facts of life here.

Are city readers to believe that industrialization on the farm arrived with rubber tires on tractors as recently as 1932 (page 68)? Might not the steel mold board plow of a much earlier date have had something to do with this? However, the "sins" of this book are those of omission rather than commission. It is not one of the "must" books for agricultural historians, economists or anyone else reasonably familiar with agriculture. It is, however, a very readable volume which may enjoy considerable popularity among those not interested in digging too deeply into the "farm problem."

O. B. Jesness
University of Minnesota

Corn and Its Early Fathers. By HENRY A. WALLACE AND WILLIAM L. BROWN. (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1956, xi, 134 pp., \$3.75.)

The polyandrous Ceres, suggested by the title of this book, provided a distinguished galaxy of sires for her favorite son, ranging from Charles Darwin and Gregor Mendel down to the latest cross-breeder, but going back in ancestry for 600 centuries, for the first 595 of which conjecture, guesswork, and hypothesis ad hoc are the only guides. It could not be otherwise. Of course, the Indians were the greatest of all the breeders.

In 1716, Cotton Mather got a glimmering of the idea of sex in corn. A few years later, Paul Dudley developed the theory further and, in 1727, James Logan began experiments establishing the fact. Between 1812 and 1823, John Loraine of Pennsylvania explained what strains of corn to plant in proximity so as to improve the yield. Many other farmers had done the same thing even earlier, but did not write so much about it. Before 1850, Robert Reid of Illinois was developing his Yellow Dent corn that, with the work of

his son James and of another dirt farmer, George Krug of Illinois, caused this variety to sweep the corn belt between 1890 and 1920. But the first controlled experiments were made by William J. Beal at Michigan Agricultural College, which the authors explain on at least three occasions is now Michigan State University. Isaac Hershey of Pennsylvania shares a chapter with the Reids and Krug. Developments have continued since 1920, but the greatest work has been in popularizing the new corn-growing methods. Much may yet be done with the "forgotten corns" that can still be found.

For so small a book, it is magnificently discursive. It could readily have been condensed into fewer pages, without sacrificing its usefulness for the general reader toward whom it is aimed. The digressions will hardly broaden the educational background of any specialists who happen to read it.

Fred A. Shannon
University of Illinois

Town and Country Churches and Family Farming. By MARSHALL HARRIS AND JOSEPH ACKERMAN. (New York, Department of Town and Country Church, Division of Home Missions, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 1956, x, 102 pp.)

This little volume is likely to be of considerable historical value in a nation in which the Christian impact on society has been so great. Two outstanding agricultural economists have given an unusual and significant interpretation to the basic values in farming—unusual because the usual emphasis by an economist has been upon the money or profit values in farming.

The book is likely, also, to be prophetic because of the emphasis that it gives to the nature of rights in land. Under private ownership the authors point out certain important social and religious reservations of rights: the right of society to collect taxes, the police right to permit use contrary to public policy or infringement on

the rights of other people, the right to take land for public purpose, which are the rights reserved by the state. "Under the laws of man [a farmer] may use the land as he sees fit, . . . but he also holds his land subject to the laws of God as laid down in the Bible." He cannot violate the social rights without fear of punishment; a violation of his stewardship obligation may result in even a more severe reprisal, for no farmer can do well in the long run by taking more out of the land than he puts back.

The goals set up for family farming further emphasize the non-economic and non-material but none-the-less all important aspects of farming: "freedom and dignity of the individual; encouragement of bold, vigorous and capable farm families, well integrated, life-satisfying, rural institutions," and these are nurtured best through the family farm.

The book is well documented and based on sound economic data showing trends which tend to discourage family farming. Tenancy as such is not disparaged so long as it looks in the direction of family farming, and suggestions are given as to how tenure arrangements can be improved to enhance family farming. By strengthening research, education and credit and by changing the legal structure so as to encourage family owner operation, the family farm's future in America can be assured. The result will be not only better farmers, but better churches, better rural communities and better rural conditions in general.

The careful attention given to a proposed program for rural churches in encouraging family farming is worthy of the careful study by rural church leaders all over the nation. It demonstrates that the rural church can be an active factor in strengthening family farming in this country.

D. E. Lindstrom
University of Illinois

Food and Inflation in the Middle East, 1940-45. By M. H. LLOYD. (Published

by the Food Research Institute, Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1956, xiv, 375 pp., \$6.00.)

Never before has agriculture received as much recognition in world affairs as it does today. Its large surpluses in some countries, and its keenly felt deficits in others; its imperative development as a stable foundation for aspiring "underdeveloped" nations; and the far-reaching implications of its trade activities, have become major concerns for peoples, governments, and international organizations all over the world.

This is particularly true of the strategic Middle East, where the critical role of food and agriculture was demonstrated during World War II. Early in the war, the Allies realized that the outcome of the battle depended to a large extent upon the maintenance of agricultural productivity and the securing of the basic food supplies for the people and the armed forces in the area. The various responsible authorities combined their effort into a historical regional organization, the Middle East Supply Center, and attacked the problem successfully.

The book under review is mainly the story of the Center as it fought the battle of food and inflation in the Middle East. The author begins with a brief resume of "Food and Agriculture Before the War" in Part I; tells about the origin and work of the Center in general in Part II; and goes into details of major activities in Parts III to VI, under the headings "Cereal Imports and Collection Schemes," "The Menace of Inflation," "Rice, Sugar, and Other Foods," and "Scientific Aid for Food Production." Part VII consists of a brief discussion of the "Impact of the War" and "Postwar Developments." There are two Appendix Notes on regional conferences, and several pages of supplementary tables on land use, population, agricultural production and other topics.

The book suffers from a few minor weaknesses. Chapter I, General Survey, is much too short adequately to cover the various aspects of the situation. It contains such

errors as the neglect to include the coastal areas of Lebanon and Syria in the zone of abundant rain (p. 6); the too low estimate of "10 percent urban" population (p. 7); inclusion of trachoma with typhoid and dysentery as to the causes of such diseases (p. 8); and the inadequate discussion of the complex and basic subject of land tenure (p. 9).

The statements on page 13 "Olives are of special importance . . . the stones being fed to livestock," and "Figs . . . flourish best in the Euphrates Valley near Antioch . . ." are not accurate. Also the dramatic rise and decline of the important silk industry is disposed of in three lines.

In several instances, in Chapters 3 to 7, areas of countries are given in metric terms, and distances in miles. Yet on page 297, the length of the Euphrates River is measured in kilometers (with an erroneous figure of 260).

These and other similar shortcomings do not detract from the major contribution

and lasting value of the book. Against individual country backgrounds, the author has succeeded in presenting a detailed and comprehensive picture of the unique and varied experiences of the Middle East Supply Center. Scores of problems, difficulties, peculiar conditions, adjustments, failures and successful solutions—related to food production, supplies, collections, rationing and inflation—have been integrated into a compact historical record.

Students of agricultural and economic history will find in the book a helpful source of information. Those struggling with the problems of agricultural development and food in the area will find in it valuable guidance for their effort. Also, those responsible for the emerging U. S. Middle East Plan will gain much from the unique experiences and lessons it depicts.

Afif I. Tannous

*Foreign Agricultural Service
U. S. Department of Agriculture*

Notes and Comment

MAY 1957 MEETING

The Agricultural History Society, meeting with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Lincoln, Nebraska, held a conference of the Executive Committee, a joint session with the Association, and the annual business meeting on May 3, 1957.

The meeting of the Executive Committee, a breakfast session, was attended by members of that committee, chairmen of other committees of the Society, and past presidents. The Society's president, Walter H. Ebling, presided. The secretary-treasurer presented the financial report, which was discussed. C. Clyde Jones presented a summary report for Mr. Case's committee on membership and contributions, and the Executive Committee expressed its appreciation of Mr. Case's work. Mr. Jones then reported for Mr. Brown and himself on editorial matters. Mr. Brown tendered his

resignation as editor, effective with the January, 1958, issue. The Committee expressed its appreciation of Mr. Brown's work. Upon being assured that Mr. Brown was adamant in his resignation, the Committee asked Mr. Jones to assume the editorship, effective with Mr. Brown's resignation. Mr. Jones agreed to accept the responsibility.

Mr. Ebling reported on suggestions for an over-all membership committee with suitable subcommittees that would concentrate on individual memberships in particular states and would also make particular efforts to increase library memberships. The Executive Committee, upon a motion made and seconded, approved Mr. Ebling's plans and authorized him to take such action as might be necessary to effectuate them.

The secretary-treasurer reported upon

a proposal by the International Cooperation Administration whereby that organization would sponsor foreign memberships in the Society. The proposal should result in a substantial increase in foreign memberships. The proposal involves some additional typing, and the Executive Committee authorized the secretary-treasurer to expend up to \$100 for such part-time assistance. The secretary-treasurer then reported upon a proposal of the University of Illinois Press that the Society select a manuscript each year, if one deemed suitable for publication is submitted, that would be published by the Press. This could take the form of a prize volume. The Committee voted to accept the proposal, and, upon the motion of Mr. Atherton, instructed the president to appoint a committee to formalize the matter. Mr. Shannon reported for the Edwards Memorial Awards Committee.

The joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Society, held at 10:00 a.m., May 3, 1957, had as its theme The Agricultural Press. The program was arranged by Norman Graebner of the University of Illinois. Earle D. Ross of Iowa State College served as chairman of the program. George F. Lemmer of the U. S. Air Force Historical Division discussed "Early Agricultural Editors and Their Policies." Mr. Lemmer pointed out that the farm editors of the ante-bellum period were the leaders of the agricultural reform movements of the times. He illustrated this point by citing the work of the editors of the *Genesee Farmer*, the *Cultivator*, the *Southern Cultivator*, and the *Prairie Farmer*. These men advocated many reforms, some of which were widely adopted.

John T. Schlebecker of Iowa State College emphasized in his paper on "The Dairy Press: Studies in Successful Farm Journalism" that since the first farm dairy paper appeared in Iowa in 1852, over 50 such papers have been issued with an average life of less than five years. The *Jersey Bulletin*, established in 1883, and *Hoard's Dairyman*, established in 1885, have been the most successful from the

viewpoint of continuous publication. After 1880, publishers had a better opportunity to succeed because many firms were advertising cream separators, and greater emphasis was being given to dairy farming. The successful publishers, generally, took the popular or potentially popular stand on issues affecting their readers.

Homer E. Socolofsky of Kansas State College presented a paper on "The Capper Farm Press in the Missouri Valley." Capper began his work as a farm publisher in 1900, when he purchased the *Missouri Valley Farmer*. His formula for success was to follow the practices of good journalism. Capper shifted his papers and their approaches to meet the needs and desires of his potential audience. By 1950, Capper's farm press had expanded to a circulation of somewhat over two million.

Robert G. Dunbar of Montana State College in his comments related the changes in farm papers to the agricultural revolution, which he defined as the change from self-sufficient to commercial agriculture. The major question, according to Mr. Dunbar, is the effectiveness of the farm press. He recommends that research be pursued on that problem. Gilbert C. Fite of the University of Oklahoma, the second commentator, asked whether better farm practices did result from a greater circulation of the farm press. In many cases, farm editors may have followed the lead and convictions of their readers. The question of influence cannot be answered with finality, but perhaps the farm papers were more important for their general cultural influences than for their recommendations of better farming methods.

The annual business meeting of the Agricultural History Society was called to order by President Walter H. Ebling at 11:30 a.m., May 3, 1957. The secretary-treasurer distributed copies of his financial report, which was discussed and approved. Mr. Jones reported for the editor, discussing the current situation and some of the changes that had been made in the journal. Several members of the Society voiced their appreciation of the work done by Mr. Brown and Mr. Jones. Mr. Ebling

reported on the work done in recruiting new members and securing contributions by Mr. Case. He states that, following Mr. Case's example in Illinois, he hoped particular groups could be set up under a general membership committee that would have as its immediate objective the doubling of the Society's membership. The Society, upon a motion from the floor, approved Mr. Ebling's efforts and directed him to proceed with the plans that he had outlined. Mr. Shannon, as chairman of the Edwards Memorial Award Committee, reported that no award had been made for a student manuscript and that the award for the best article had been made to Earle D. Ross for his study entitled "Retardation in Farm Technology Before the Power Age." Mr. Ross, who was present, received the congratulations of the group, after which the meeting was adjourned.—W.D.R.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

January 1, 1956 to December 31, 1956

AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

Amount in checking account, Jan. 1, 1956.....	\$1,282.38
Amount in savings fund, Interstate Bldg. Assn., Jan. 1, 1956.....	1,960.33

Receipts to December 31, 1956:

Sale of back numbers.....	\$ 443.19
Sale of reprints.....	285.66
1954 dues.....	4.00
1955 dues.....	120.00
1956 dues.....	1,730.50
1957 dues.....	1,650.00
1958-1961 dues.....	40.00
Edwards Memorial Fund....	120.00
Life memberships.....	262.00
Microfilm royalties.....	.80
Contributions through Ill. Development Fund....	447.50
Exchange.....	.19
Interest.....	74.98

Total Receipts..... \$5,178.82

Total to be accounted for..... \$8,421.53

Expenditures to December 31, 1956:

Antes Printing Co., printing 3 issues of <i>Agricultural History</i>	\$1,837.70
Reprints.....	125.09

Letterheads and envelopes.....	73.44
Refunds on cancelled sub- scriptions.....	10.00
Payment on joint dues to Economic History Association.....	276.00
Postage.....	120.00
Edwards Memorial Fund Awards.....	100.00
Bond for Secretary- Treasurer.....	10.00
Total Expenditures.....	\$2,552.23
Amount in checking account, December 31, 1956.....	\$3,571.99*
Amount in savings fund, Inter- state Bldg. Assn., December 31, 1956.....	\$2,297.31
Total accounted for.....	\$8,421.53

* Of this total, \$247.37 comprises the Edwards Memorial Fund, and \$447.50 comprises the University of Illinois Agricultural History Development Fund.

During the year, \$262.00 was transferred from the checking account to the savings fund.

An agricultural museum, patterned after the well-known Farmers' Museum of Cooperstown, New York, has been started in a barn near Bedminster, New Jersey, by an eleven-year-old boy, Thomas Nevius Westervelt. After visiting the Cooperstown museum, young Westervelt decided to establish a similar one in New Jersey, and he recently placed on display more than one hundred early farm tools and implements. The catalogued exhibits include a wooden corn-cutter, a butter churn, and a wooden harrow dating back to 1775.



The U. S. Department of Agriculture's motion picture unit is celebrating its fiftieth anniversary this year, having produced more than 2,000 films since 1907. Already of interest to agricultural historians are some of the old reels which have been stored for safekeeping in the National Archives.



Another anniversary to be marked in 1957 is the 75th year of founding of the New York State Agricultural Experiment Station at Geneva. The station, which dates its beginning as March 1, 1882, is

officially a part of Cornell University. The 1882 report of E. Lewis Sturtevant, the first director, begins as follows: "Arriving at Geneva February 28, I took possession of the Station property March 1, and on March 3 employed a janitor previously hired through the assistance of Mr. Swan. The former owner was still occupying the buildings, and the whole premises, including the barns and outbuildings, were out of repair and in disorder."



One of the oldest operating grist mills in the United States is located on Pine Creek near State College, Pennsylvania. Although a turbine recently replaced the old water wheel and modern equipment the stone grinding wheels, the mill and the site are virtually the same as the first one established there during the 1780's.

ACTIVITIES OF MEMBERS

Lee Benson, Columbia University, Bureau of Applied Social Research, has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for the completion of a study in political historiography.

Allan G. Bogue has been promoted to Associate Professor, State University of Iowa.

James C. Bonner discusses "The Georgia Wine Industry on the Eve of the Civil War," in the March, 1957, issue of the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*.

Avery O. Craven, professor emeritus of history at the University of Chicago, is visiting professor of history at Wayne University during the current year.

C. Norman Guice of Wayne University is the author of "Trade Goods for Texas: An Incident in the History of the Jeffersonian Embargo," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 60:507-519 (April, 1957).

Ralph W. Haskins has been promoted to associate professor of history at the University of Tennessee.

Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University, has received a grant-in-aid from the University Research Council to do research in ante bellum Southern history.

Donald L. Kemmerer of the University

of Illinois is the author of "A History of Paper Money in Colonial New Jersey, 1668-1775," *Proceedings New Jersey History Society*, April, 1956.

J. Orion Oliphant of Bucknell University has edited a volume entitled *Through the South and the West With Jeremiah Evarts in 1826* (Lewisburg, Pa., Bucknell University Press, 1956).

Garland G. Parker is now Registrar of the University of Cincinnati, as well as Associate Professor of History.

Theodore Saloutos of the University of California is the author of *They Remember America: The Story of the Repatriated Greek-Americans* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1956).

Jesse W. Tapp of the Bank of America discusses "The Agricultural Problem," *Journal of Farm Economics*, 38: 1102-1106 (December, 1956).

Mildred Throne of the State Historical Society of Iowa has edited "The Diary of a Law Student, 1853-1855," *Iowa Journal of History*, 55: 167-186 (April, 1957).

Lazar Volin is the author of "Twenty Years of Soviet Agrarian Policy," which was published in the January, 1957, issue of *Foreign Agriculture*.

David M. Warren, long the editor and publisher of the Panhandle (Texas) *Herald*, has sold the paper, but continues as editor emeritus.

RECENT ARTICLES OF INTEREST

Agricultural History Review—Part I, 1956: "A Review of Bales as Strip Boundaries in the Open Fields," by H. A. Beecham; "The Statistical Assessment of British Agriculture," by J. T. Coppock (cont'd); "An Answer to Poverty in Sussex, 1830-45," by A. C. Todd.

Part II, 1956: "The Statistical Assessment of British Agriculture," (cont'd) by J. T. Coppock; "Rhosili Open Fields and Related South Wales Field Patterns," by Margaret Davies; "Estate Management in Eighteenth Century Kent," by G. E. Mingay; "The Develop-

- ment of Feeding Standards for Livestock," by Cyril Tyler.
- Annals of Iowa*—January, 1957: "Hardships in Ft. Dodge Area," by A. D. Bicknell.
- Arkansas Historical Quarterly*—Winter, 1956: "The Art of Witch-Wiggling," by Otto Ernest Rayburn.
- Current History*—January, 1957: "Agriculture in Communist China," by Chao Kuo-chun.
- Economic History Review*—December, 1956: "Slavery in the Ancient World," by A. M. H. Jones; "Expropriation of the English Peasantry in the Eighteenth Century," by V. M. Lavronsky; "Early-ripening Rice in Chinese History," by Ping-ti Ho.
- Geographical Review*—January, 1957: "Soil Fertility and Biotic Geography," by William A. Albrecht.
- Indiana Magazine of History*—December, 1956: "Early American Interest in Waterway Connections between the East and the West," by William R. Wiloughby.
- Journal of Economic History*—December, 1956: "A Comparative Analysis of Economic Developments in the American West and South," by Douglas F. Dowd; "National Policy and Western Development in North America," by Vernon C. Fouke; "American Development Policy: The Case of Internal Improvements," by Carter Goodrich; "The Changing Pattern of American Economic Development," by Donald L. Kemmerer; "Northern Pine Lumbermen: A Study in Origins and Migrations," by Frederick W. Kohlmeyer; "International Capital Flows and the Development of the American West," by Douglas C. North; "When the Pound Sterling Went West: British Investments and the American Mineral Frontier," by Clark C. Spence; "The Role of the Merchant on the Oregon Frontier: The Early Business Career of Henry W. Corbett, 1851-1869," by Arthur L. Throckmorton; "Promoting the American West in England, 1865-1890," by Oscar O. Winther.
- Journal of Mississippi History*—October, 1956: "Dr. James Green Carson, Antebellum Planter of Mississippi and Louisiana," by John Q. Anderson.
- Journal of Southern History*—February, 1957: "Facets of the South in the 1850's," by James W. Patton.
- Kansas Historical Quarterly*—Winter, 1956: "Annals of Quindaro: A Kansas Ghost Town," by Alan W. Farley; "Jefferson Davis and Kansas Territory," by Eugene T. Wells.
- Maryland Historical Magazine*—December, 1956: "Franco-American Tobacco Diplomacy, 1784-1860," by Bingham Duncan.
- Missouri Historical Review*—January, 1957: "The Morrill Lands of the University of Missouri," by John J. Jones; "David Rice Atcheson: 'Faithful Champion of the South'," by William E. Parish.
- New Mexico Historical Review*—October, 1956: "John Simpson Chisum" (continued), by Harwood P. Hinton, Jr.
- January, 1957: "John Simpson Chisum" (concluded), by Harwood P. Hinton, Jr.
- Oregon Historical Quarterly*—December, 1956: "Pioneer Pastimes," by Dan E. Clark.
- Pacific Historical Review*—November, 1956: "The Mining Debris Controversy in the Sacramento Valley," by Robert L. Kelley.
- February, 1957: "The Work of the Indian Claims Commission under the Act of 1946," by Thomas LeDuc.
- Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*—January, 1957: "The Pennsylvania Railroad's Southern Rail Empire," by John F. Stover.
- Southwestern Historical Quarterly*—January, 1957: "The Abduction of Free Negroes and Slaves in Texas," by Earl W. Fornell; "Major Whitfield Chalk, Hero

- of the Republic of Texas," by Olive Todd Walker.
- Utah Historical Quarterly*—October, 1956: "Handcarts to Utah, 1856-1860," by LeRoy R. Hafen; "Utah Presidential Elections, 1896-1952," by Frank H. Jonas and Garth N. Jones; "The Settlement of Cache Valley," by Joel E. Ricks.
- January, 1957: "The Plains of Warsaw," by Clair Noall.
- Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*—January, 1957: "Green Spring Plantation," by Louis R. Caywood; "Mulberry Trees and Silkworms: Sericulture in Early Virginia," by Charles E. Hatch, Jr.
- West Virginia History*—October, 1956: "Slavery as a Factor in the Formation of West Virginia," by George Ellis Moore.
- Wisconsin Magazine of History*—Winter, 1956-1957: "Settling the Wisconsin Cutovers," by Lucile Kane.

THE AUTHORS

CHESTER McARTHUR DESTLER is an Associate Fellow, Berkeley College, Yale University. He is currently putting the finishing touches upon *Henry Demarest Lloyd and the Empire of Reform*, for which he held a Library of Congress Fellowship in American Civilization.

WILBUR H. GLOVER is Director of the Buffalo Historical Society and Associate in the Department of History, University of Buffalo. He is presently working on a biography of William D. Hoard.

CAPTAIN RICHARD J. MORRISSEY is a member of the Department of Military History, U. S. Air Force Academy, Denver, Colorado. The article published in this issue was adapted from a paper presented before the Agricultural History Society in 1951, its delay in preparation for publication resulting from the author's being recalled to active military service in that year.

ROBERT PARTIN is Professor of History at Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn.

RICHARD B. SHERIDAN is Assistant Professor of Economics, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

ROBERT W. WILLIAMS is Assistant Professor of History, Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Texas.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

President Walter H. Ebling has announced that Professor Robert G. Dunbar, Montana State College, Bozeman, Montana, has accepted the responsibility for arranging a program for the Society's joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Minneapolis in the spring of 1958. Professor Dunbar has asked that members send him any suggestions that they might have for the program.

President Ebling has also announced the following as members of a committee to develop plans with the University of Illinois Press for an annual award volume in the field of agricultural history: Lewis E. Atherton (chairman), C. Clyde Jones, Allan G. Bogue, and Wayne D. Rasmussen (secretary).

THE AGRICULTURAL HISTORY DEVELOPMENT FUND

Under the leadership of Dr. H. C. M. Case, the Agricultural History Development Fund was recently established with a Sponsoring Committee composed of the following:

- Joseph Ackerman, Director, Farm Foundation, Chicago, Illinois
- Rex R. Bailey, President, Doane Agricultural Service, Inc., St. Louis, Missouri
- H. C. M. Case, Professor, Agricultural Economics, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois
- E. L. Heckler, Manager, Public Relations Department, Armour & Company, Chicago, Illinois
- R. W. Howard, Roving Editor, American Meat Institute, Chicago, Illinois
- Paul Johnson, Editor, Prairie Farmer, Chicago, Illinois
- C. E. Mast, Jr., Editor and Publisher, Agricultural Leaders Digest, Chicago, Illinois
- F. H. McKelvey, Farm Manager-Assistant Trust Officer, First National Bank, Springfield, Illinois
- C. W. Weldon, Vice President, First National Bank of Chicago, Illinois

The purpose of the Development Fund is to broaden the membership of the Agricultural History Society and to obtain cash contributions which will be used to expand the size, improve the physical appearance, and at the same time maintain the high scholarly standards set by the journal in the past.

Contributions and new memberships as of June 3, 1957 totalled \$1070. New members brought into the Society through the efforts of the Agricultural History Development Committee are as follows:

Sustaining Members

American Meat Institute
Armour & Company
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe
Uhlmann Grain Company

Contributors Plus Membership

American Cattlemen's Association
W. I. Boone
Robert H. Burns
W. F. Goodell
Boyd Harper
Trevor L. Jones
J. L. Krider of Central Soya Company
Frank H. McKelvey
Wheeler H. McMillen, Farm Journal
C. L. Mast
Fred B. Meers
National Association of Margarine Manufacturers
Alexander Nunn
Thomas H. Roberts
Donald G. Smith
A. E. Staley Manufacturing Company
Clarence Watson
C. W. Weldon
E. N. Wentworth

Memberships

B. F. Alvord
Rex R. Bailey
Ashleigh P. Boles
R. A. Burghart
H. M. Briggs
A. B. Caple Company
Joseph Chrisman
Cincinnati and Hamilton
County Public Library
Harry J. Devereaux
DeKalb Trust & Savings
Bank
Chester McA. Destler
Gerald W. Detering
H. Fahmkopf (United
Grain Company)
Farmers' Digest
Joel E. Ferris
George A. Fox Co.
Fulton Ranch
Federal Reserve Bank
of St. Louis
Fort Hays, Kansas State
College
E. B. Lanham
Louisiana Farm Bureau
Loyola University
Millart T. Lund
Henry T. McKnight
Marquette University
Murray State College
Nebraska Farmer, Carl
Dietemeyer, Editor
H. H. Parke
Fred C. Parks
James M. Pierce
Corporation
Paul R. Poffenberger
Producers Livestock
Cooperative Association
F. J. Reiss
Charles R. Sayre
Charles B. Shuman
L. H. Simerl
Mervin G. Smith
Wm. Howard Smith
J. C. Spitzer
J. K. Stern (American
Institute of Cooperation)
Texas A & M College
Library
Dave O. Thompson, Sr.
Arthur D. Weber
Ralph Wells
Victor Weybright
W. F. Whipple
J. B. Wilson
Moyle S. Williams
Wisconsin State College
of Platteville
J. F. Ziegler

The Everett Eugene Edwards Awards in Agricultural History

The Agricultural History Society, in partial recognition of the outstanding services of Everett E. Edwards to the organization and in honor of his memory, has established the Everett Eugene Edwards Memorial Awards to be given to the authors of the two best articles (presidential addresses excluded) in *Agricultural History* each year. One prize of \$50.00 is offered for the best manuscript submitted by an author who is in the course of taking a degree and one prize of \$50.00 for the best published article by an author who is a more advanced scholar.

The Awards are financed from the Edwards Memorial Fund to which all members of the Society and other interested persons are invited to subscribe. However, the amounts necessary to pay the Awards for a period of ten years have been guaranteed by three of Edwards' former co-workers.

All articles to be considered for publication and other communications regarding editorial matters should be addressed to D. A. BROWN, College of Agriculture, 226 Mumford Hall, Urbana, Illinois. Address inquiries regarding the MEMORIAL FUND, MEMBERSHIP IN THE SOCIETY, and business matters to WAYNE D. RASMUSSEN, Secretary-Treasurer, U. S. Agricultural Marketing Service, Washington 25, D. C.

AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION

The American Economic Association, founded in 1885, is an organization with a membership of over seven thousand persons interested in the study of economics or the economic phases of social and political questions. Its purpose is the encouragement of perfect freedom of economic discussion. The Association as such takes no partisan attitude, nor will it commit its members to any position on practical economic questions.

The publications of the Association consist of the *American Economic Review*, a quarterly, the *Proceedings* of the annual meetings, a handbook or directory, and occasional monographs on special subjects. Yearly subscription to all publications is \$6.00.

There are six classes of active membership: annual, \$6.00; family (second member without *Review*), \$1.00; junior (graduate students, for three years only), \$3.00; subscribing, \$10.00; contributing, \$25.00; life, \$100.00 in a single payment.

Send for information booklet and address inquiries concerning membership and subscription to:

JAMES WASHINGTON BELL, *Secretary-Treasurer*,
American Economic Association,
Northwestern University,
Evanston, Illinois